

# THE INDYPENDENT

## CITE SOLEIL

PHOTOS, HISTORY & ANALYSIS IN THE CENTERFOLD

## Ballots & Bullets in Haiti

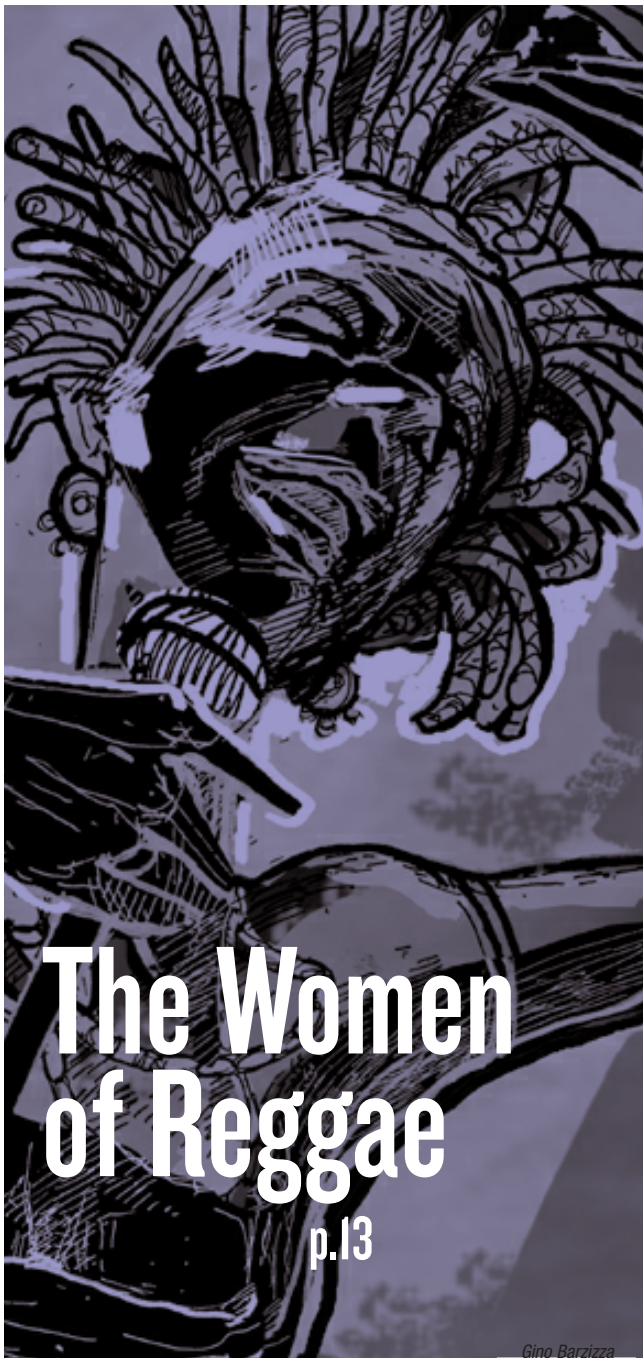
National Raids Nab Eco-Activists, p.5 | A Closer Look at Venezuela's '21st Century Socialism' p.10 | Iraq, p.6



### 3-Way Tangle

p.14

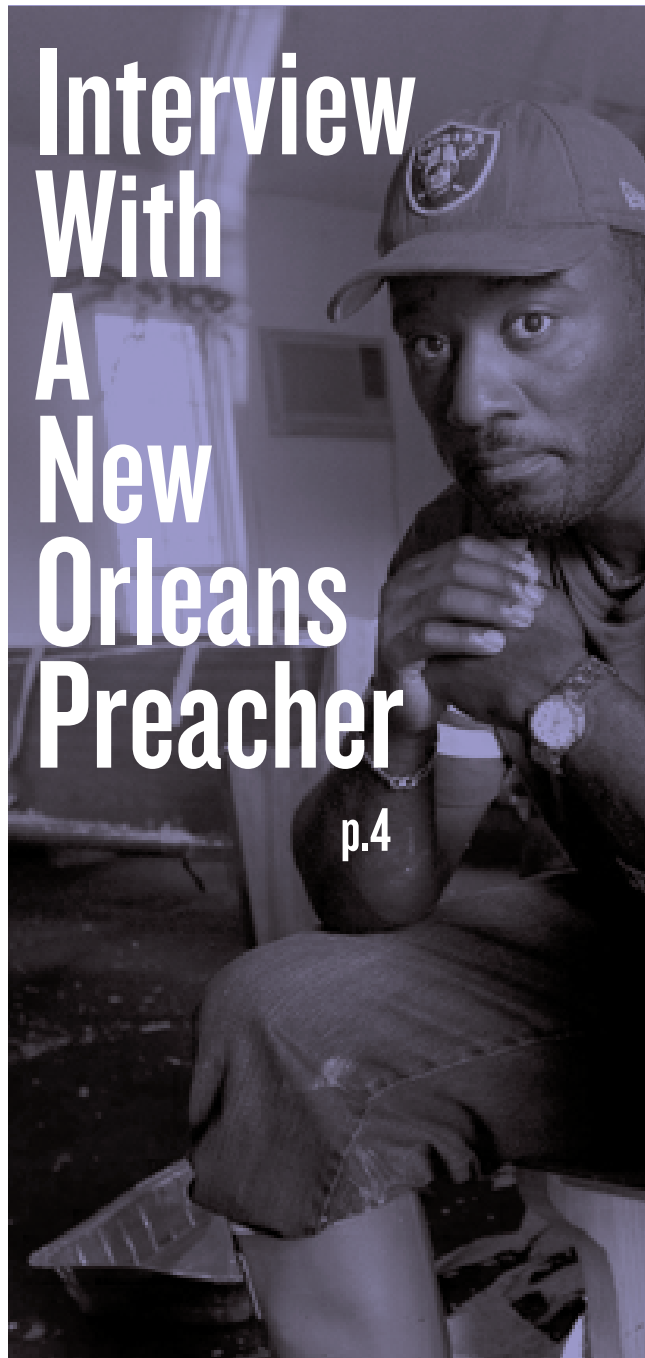
David Hollenbach



### The Women of Reggae

p.13

Gino Barzizza



### Interview With A New Orleans Preacher

p.4





## NEW YORK CITY INDEPENDENT MEDIA CENTER

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### WHAT IS INDYMEDIA?

With autonomous chapters in more than 120 cities throughout the world, the Independent Media Center is an international network of volunteer media activists.

The IMC seeks to create a new media ethic by providing progressive, in-depth and accurate coverage of issues. We are a community-based organization using media to facilitate political and cultural self-representation. We seek to analyze issues affecting individuals, communities and ecosystems by providing media tools and space to those seeking to communicate. We espouse open dialogue and place the means of communication and creativity back in the hands of the people, away from the drive of profit.

*The Independent* is funded by benefits, subscriptions, donations, grants and ads from organizations and individuals with similar missions.

### WHAT CAN I DO TO GET INVOLVED?

The IMC has an open door. You can write and distribute for *The Independent*, videotape events and rallies, update the website, self-publish articles to the web, take photos or just help us run the office. As an organization relying on volunteer support, we encourage all forms of participation.

The print team reserves the right to edit articles for length, content and clarity. We welcome your participation in the entire editorial process.

### VOLUNTEER STAFF:

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# events

## march

### Sunday, March 5

1:00pm-5:00pm • Sliding scale: \$5 to \$50  
**WORKSHOP: BUILDING STRONGER  
CROSS-CLASS ALLIANCES**

With Betsy Leondar-Wright, communications director at United for a Fair Economy, is a long-time economic justice activist. Her book, *Class Matters: Cross-Class Alliance Building for Middle-Class Activists*, is excerpted on the web at ClassMatters.org.  
Brecht Forum, 451 West St (btw Bank & Bethune in the West Village)  
(212) 242-4201 • mail@brechtforum.org

5:00pm • FREE

### REGIONAL STUDENT ANTIWAR MEETING

Get your school involved too! All high schools and colleges welcome. Join students from all over New York City and New Jersey as we plan to get military recruiters out of our schools and bring the troops home from Iraq now. Hunter West Lobby, Hunter College, E 68th & Lexington • www.campusantiwar.net • nyccan@gmail.com

### Tuesday, March 7

6:30pm • FREE

### FILM AND PERFORMANCE: SCREENING OF "SANKOFA" AND PERFORMANCE BY POETICA

www.mec.cuny.edu/filmandcultureseries  
Medgar Evers College, Founders Auditorium,  
1650 Bedford Ave, Brooklyn

7:00pm-9:00pm • FREE

### FOR THE SAKE OF OUR CHILDREN: A CONVOCATION TO SUPPORT SEX EDUCATION

Sponsored by Planned Parenthood of New York City, in partnership with Congregation Rodeph Sholom, the Mission and Social Justice Commission of the Riverside Church of New York and Get the Facts.

RSVP: www.ppaction.org  
Riverside Church of New York, W 122nd & Riverside Drive

12:00pm-2:00pm • FREE

### DISCUSSION: THE GLOBAL CLASS WAR WITH JEFF FAUX

Join Demos in welcoming Jeff Faux, author of *The Global Class War*, for a discussion of his latest book addressing growing inequality between the global elite, or "The Party of Davos," and the average American citizen.  
Register at www.demos.org/eventregistration or call (212) 633-1405 x533  
The Demos Forum, 220 Fifth Ave, 5th floor

### Wednesday, March 8

12:00pm-3:00pm and 5:00pm-7:00pm • FREE

### PERFORMANCE/CELEBRATION: INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

You are invited to perform poetry, spoken word, music, dance and movement and theater and/or exhibit photography that speaks against the current U.S.-led wars. Cabaret for Peace with Justice, Hunter West Lobby, Hunter College, E 68th & Lexington • www.campusantiwar.net • nyccan@gmail.com

### Thursday, March 9

8:00pm • FREE

### SCREENING: "THIS REVOLUTION"

Haskell Wexler exploded the boundaries of American vérité cinema with his quasi-fictional masterpiece, *Medium Cool*. Set against the chaotic and hyper-politicized backdrop of the 1968 Democratic National Convention, Wexler's narrative effectively blurred the lines between reality and fiction, forcing viewers to question the responsibility the media have to their audience and the society as a whole.  
TIME'S UP! Space, 49 E Houston St (btw Mott & Mulberry)

### Friday, March 10—Sunday, March 12 LEFT FORUM • \$15, \$25, \$35

Join many of the world's leading left thinkers and activists for an important, engaging weekend of political commentary and debate.  
Friday night: "Challenges to Empire," moderated by WBAI's Deepa Fernandes, will focus recent developments in Latin America, global social movements, political struggles around the world and the implications for U.S. hegemony.  
Cooper Union, 7 E 7th St (@ 3rd Ave) • Register at www.leftforum.org

### Friday, March 10—Saturday, March 11

8:30am-5:00pm

### COMMUNITY HEALTH FAIR AND FIRST ANNUAL HEALTH DISPARITIES CONFERENCE

Are you concerned about soaring rates of obesity, diabetes, asthma, hypertension, cancer, HIV/AIDS and other health conditions? What does the latest research say? What can you do? Whether you are a medical professional, health care worker or concerned community member, come and find answers!  
Teachers College, Columbia University,  
525 W120th St • www.tc.edu/healthdisparity (800) 209-1245

## WHERE DO I GET MY COPY OF THE INDEPENDENT?

A FREE PAPER FOR FREE PEOPLE

### BELOW 14<sup>TH</sup> ST.

**Bluestockings  
Books & Café**  
172 Allen St.

**Times Up!**  
49 E. Houston St.

**Lotus Café**  
Clinton & Stanton Sts.

**May Day Books  
Theater for the New City**  
155 First Ave.  
(Btw. 9th & 10th Sts.)

**Housing Works**  
126 Crosby St.

**LGBT Center**  
213 W. 13th St.

**Shakespeare & Co. Books**  
1 Whitehall St.

**Brecht Forum**  
451 West St.

**14<sup>TH</sup> TO 96<sup>TH</sup> ST.**

**Revolution Books**  
9 W. 19th St.  
**Chelsea Sq. Diner**  
23rd St. & 9th Ave.

**Domvys**  
413 W. 44th St.

**Second Wave  
Laundrocenter**  
55th St. & 9th Ave.

### ABOVE 96<sup>TH</sup> ST.

**Labyrinth Books**  
536 W. 112th St.

**Kim's Video**  
113th St. & Broadway

**Karrot**  
181st St. & Cabrini

### BROOKLYN

**Vox Pop**  
1022 Cortelyou Rd.

**Tillie's of Brooklyn**  
248 DeKalb Ave.

**Green Apple Café**  
110 DeKalb Ave.

**Metropolitan Laundromat**  
561 Metropolitan Ave.

**Freddy's Bar and Backroom**  
Dean St. & 6th Ave.

**Community Book Store**  
7th Ave. & Carroll St.

**Tea Lounge**  
Union St. @ 7th Ave.  
9th St. @ 7th Ave.

**Atlantis Super Laundry  
Center**  
472 Atlantic Ave.

**Photoplay Video**  
933 Manhattan Ave.

**Verb Cafe**  
Bedford Ave. & N. 5th St.

**Food for Thought Cafe**  
456 Nostrand Ave.

**Veggie Castle**  
2242 Church Ave.

**Make the Road  
by Walking**  
301 Grove St.

**Spoken Word Cafe**  
4th Ave. & Union St.

### QUEENS

**Cafe Bar**  
36th St. & 34th Ave.

**Sunnyside Library**  
43-06 Greenpoint Ave.

**Broadway Library**  
4020 Broadway

### BRONX

**Bronx Museum**  
165th St. & Grand Concourse

**The Point**  
940 Garrison Ave.

**Baychester Library**  
2049 Asch Loop

### JERSEY CITY

**Five Corners Library**  
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for the Indy?

email: imc-nyc-  
print@indymedia.org



Aaron Cohen

**NEXT CRITICAL MASS BIKE RIDE:** March 31, 7pm, Union Square North

### Saturday, March 11

6:00pm • Suggested donation: \$10/\$15/\$20  
**POETRY AND PERFORMANCE: AN  
INTERNATIONAL WORKING  
WOMEN'S DAY CELEBRATION.**

To perform or to reserve childcare, please contact Liz Roberts (212) 242-4201 or lizr@brechtforum.org. Limited spaces for performers. Light supper provided. Wine and desserts available to raise funds. Presented by Resistance in Brooklyn and the Brecht Forum. Women and trans-folk only please.  
Brecht Forum, 451 West St (btw Bank & Bethune in the West Village)

### Tuesday, March 14

7:00pm • FREE

### READING: ROXANNE DUNBAR-ORTIZ 'BLOOD ON THE BORDER'

Dunbar-Ortiz seamlessly connects the personal and the political and draws together recent history and present moment with her on-the-ground memories of the contra war in Nicaragua. Bluestockings Bookstore, 172 Allen Street @ Stanton • www.bluestockings.com

### Thursday, March 16

7:00pm • \$10

### FUNDRAISER AND SCREENING: "WITH A VENGEANCE" BY LORI HIRIS & NINA BAEHR

The Women's Liberation Birth Control Project presents a film screening and discussion on: How Women Won Abortion Rights.  
www.birthcontrolproject.org  
Galapagos Art Space & Bar, 70 N 6th St, Williamsburg, Brooklyn

### Friday, March 17

7:00pm • \$5 in advance, \$7 at the door  
**SCREENING AND DISCUSSION:  
"WEAPONS OF MASS DECEPTION"  
WITH DANNY SCHECHTER**

Sponsored by Chelsea Neighbors United to End the War, marking the Third Anniversary of War in Iraq. The historic Hudson Guild, 441 W 26th St (btw 9th & 10th Ave) • Call (212) 726-1385

### Saturday, March 18

2:00pm (For clown makeup, come to the TIME'S UP! space at 1pm) • FREE  
**BIKE LANE LIBERATION**  
Meet at Washington Square Park

### Saturday March 18-Sunday, March 19

10:00am-5:30pm • FREE

### NYC GAY AND LESBIAN ANTI- VIOLENCE PROJECT VOLUNTEER HOTLINE TRAINING

Get involved with the NYC Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project Volunteer Hotline. Get Certified! Classes are held at the Anti-Violence Project, 240 W 35th St, Suite 200 (btw 7th & 8th Aves) (212) 714-1184 • kfountain@avp.org

### Thursday, March 23

7:00pm • FREE

### SCREENING: "THE POWER OF NIGHTMARES: THE RISE OF THE POLITICS OF FEAR"

A series of BBC documentary films, written and produced by Adam Curtis. This documentary argues that a group of neo-conservatives benefit from exaggerating the scale of the terrorist threat from which they offer to protect their people, as they tried to benefit by exaggerating the threat of communism in the 1970s and '80s.  
TIME'S UP! Space, 49 E Houston St (btw Mott & Mulberry)

### Saturday, March 25

1:00pm • \$5/\$10 suggested donation

### IRAQ: THE LOGIC OF WITHDRAWAL

Join Howard Zinn and Anthony Arnove for the launch of *Iraq: The Logic of Withdrawal*. With forward and afterward by Howard Zinn. Introduction by Amy Goodman of *Democracy Now!*  
Quaker Friends Meeting House, 15 Rutherford Place (at 15th Street) • www.howardzinn.org

### Saturday, March 25

7:00pm • FREE

### CAN'T STOP WON'T STOP

A discussion with writer Jeff Chang about his groundbreaking book, *Can't Stop Won't Stop: A History of the Hip Hop Generation*. With Deepa Fernandes and Andy Hsiao, and performance by DJ Rekha. Galapagos Art Space, 70 North Sixth, Williamsburg, Brooklyn • nyc.haymarketforum.org

### Add your event:

imc-nyc-print@indymedia.org

BY HARRY J. BUBBINS

For New Yorkers who have come to enjoy their open, green spaces, public fields and gardens, the meaning of the word “park” has come under increasing challenge. From the proposed new Yankee Stadium to the water filtration plant in Van Cortlandt Park, officials are targeting parks for corporate projects and infrastructure needs. On March 7, a public hearing could determine the fate of a proposed theme park that would occupy 26 acres of Randall’s Island.

Originally proposed in 1999 as a 12-acre initiative at less than one third the current projected cost, this theme park project has metastasized into a \$168 million, 26-acre



**GIULIANI LOYALISTS** look to replace ballfields with a pricey aquatic theme park. Above, young soccer players take advantage of one of the fields that would be demolished. PHOTO: Manhattan Soccer Club

# Randall’s Island Rip-Off

enterprise with a 35-year lease, requiring ten of the island’s already overcrowded baseball and soccer fields to be bulldozed.

A review of the Draft Agreement between the developer, Aquatic Development Group, and the NYC Parks Department is troubling: The most important pages – those outlining the size, scope, site and details of the proposed multi-story structures, totaling more than 133,000 square feet – are blank. What the agreement does indicate is that the price of admission to this private enterprise will be more than \$60.

The courts have repeatedly ruled that if land has been dedicated as a park it cannot be “alienated,” or taken for a non-park use, without legislation from the NYC City Council and then authorization from the state legislature. This scheme to alienate public park land without due process has been criticized and is being contested by local and citwide advocates like New Yorkers for Parks and Metropolitan Waterfront Alliance, as well as elected officials like Council Member Melissa Mark Viverito.

Nevertheless, the city is pressing on with its hasty schedule. “Ideally, we’d like a groundbreaking before the summer of 2006,” said Parks Department’s spokeswoman Dana Rubenstein. But closer scrutiny might scuttle the deal altogether.

Surprisingly, there has never been a Request for Proposals or a clear and transparent solicitation process for this Giuliani-era pitch. Comptroller William Thompson’s office stated that the city’s process is “flawed and inconsistent with well-established principles of public bidding” and asked how the project was allowed to swell from a 12-acre, \$45 million water park in 1999 to a 26-acre, \$168 million venture today without being put up for rebidding.

It may be that the financial ups and downs, previous bankruptcy, conflicts of interest and other issues will throw up insurmountable road blocks. The financial backer who has bailed out the main players at Aquatic Development Group (ADG) in the past is Jared Abbruzzese. Since 2000, Abbruzzese and numerous family members and ADG President Herb Ellis have contributed more than \$100,000 to various Republican committees, in addition to entities controlled by former Mayor Giuliani, including Friends of Giuliani and Solutions America. As part of the review Process now under way, “If the Comptroller raises certain objections such as irregularities within the agreement or concerns of corruption, the implementation deadline is void.”

For now, the March 7 hearing is still set, and the project must win five votes from the city’s Franchise and Concessions Review Committee (FCRC), which consists of mayoral appointees, the Comptroller’s office and the affected borough president, in this case Manhattan’s Scott Stringer, whose opposition to the plan is on record.

The project would be inaccessible to residents of nearby neighborhoods that are underserved by city parks, such as East Harlem and the South Bronx, which has no official waterfront or shore access. Most absurd is the proposal for an indoor “river,” on a site adjacent to a real river.

Indicative of the politics attached to this project, in 2001 then-Parks Commissioner Henry Stern was compelled to say that “the great recreational potential of Randall’s and

Ward’s Island Park will now be fulfilled with the amphitheater, track and field center, and water park. We are pleased to see these projects get under way.” Today, free of such constraints, he offers this noncommittal yet distinctly different position: “I think it would be no problem if it was left alone,” he said. “It doesn’t have to be a happening. It’s an open space, an island in the heart of the city.”

*Harry J. Bubbins is a South Bronx environmentalist. For more, see [friendsofbrookpark.org](http://friendsofbrookpark.org)*



## MARDI GRAS IN NEW ORLEANS

(above) Chief Alfred Doucette of the Flaming Arrow Nation and Big Chief Donald Harrison of the Congo Nation dance together on Mardi Gras. The Mardi Gras Indians named themselves after Native Americans to pay them respect for their assistance in escaping slavery. It was often local Native Americans who accepted slaves into their society when they made a break for freedom. Few in the ghetto felt they could ever participate in the typical New Orleans parade. Historically, slavery and racism were at the root of this cultural separation. The black neighborhoods in New Orleans gradually developed their own style of celebrating Mardi Gras. Their “Krewes” are named for imaginary Indian tribes according to the streets of their ward or gang.

(below) **THE LOWER NINTH WARD** neighborhood of New Orleans, still completely destroyed with no services the day before Mardi Gras, six months after Hurricane Katrina. PHOTOS: Andrew Stern



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## New Council Bill Pushes 24-hour Limit on Trips to the Tombs

BY ANN SCHNEIDER

A measure pending right now in the City Council would put teeth into the rule that lets you see a judge within 24 hours of being arrested anywhere in NYC. It is called the “Charge or Release Bill.”

Right now, the rule is often violated, especially in the Bronx. A study by the NYCLU, proponent of the measure, found that more than half of all people arrested are arraigned more than 24 hours after being picked up.

Because people of color are three-fourths of all those arrested in the city, it is a matter of racial justice that processing be done swiftly enough to comply with the 24-hour rule, which was mandated by the state Court of Appeals in 1991.

The police and the city Department of Corrections are supposed to work together to run fingerprints and draft a set of charges within 24 hours of arrest. But, as happened during the Republican National Convention, each department tries to place the blame for non-compliance on the other department.

This bill would require both the NYPD and the Department of Corrections to report to the City Council four times a year on the number of people held more than 24 hours and to account for the time a person was in the custody of each department.

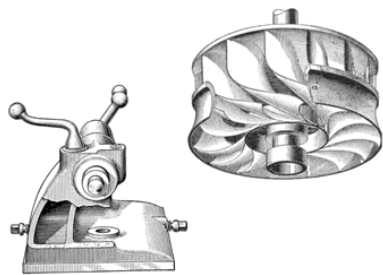
But what gives this bill teeth is that it provides attorney’s fees for detainees who are held over 24 hours. (Presently, one can theoretically sue for damages, but unless you’re held for several days, the damages are too small for a lawyer to want to take the case on contingency). For this reason, public safety committee chair Peter Vallone Jr. strenuously opposes the bill. He writes, “This bill will do nothing but result in large taxpayer payouts to rapists and murderers.”

But in reality, 62 percent of daily arrests are for misdemeanors and violations, not felonies. This means that many people, disproportionately people of color, serve more time before arraignment than the offense would require, if they were convicted.

The bill does carry an exception to the rule for an “unforeseeable extraordinary circumstance,” but says budgetary constraints can’t be used to justify a delay.

None of this placates councilman Vallone. He says, “This isn’t a ‘Get-Out-of-Jail-Free’ card. It’s a ‘Get-Out-of-Jail-and-get-paid-for-it’ card.” The bill has 21 co-sponsors. As of this writing, City Council Speaker Christine Quinn is not among them.

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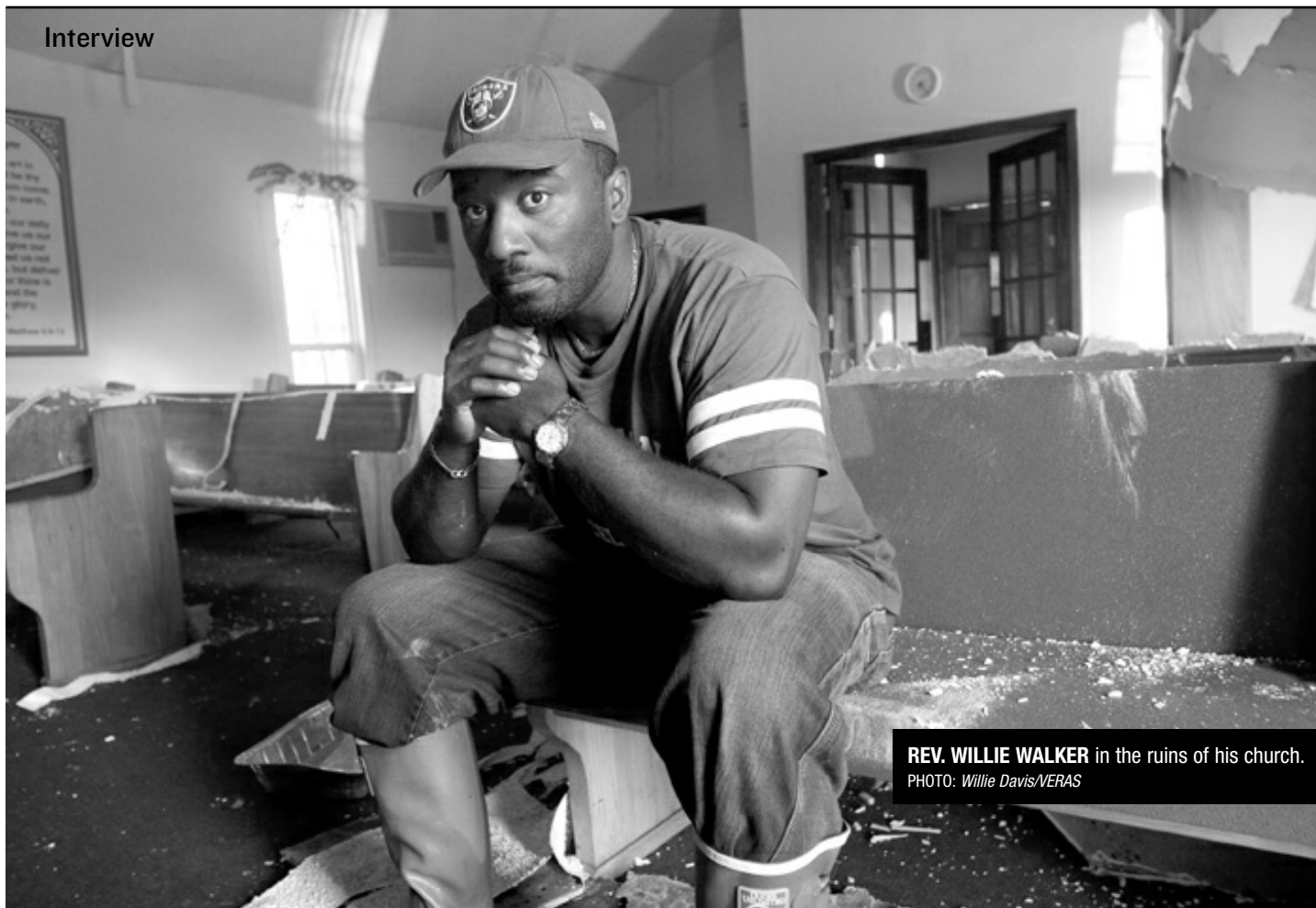
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## Interview



REV. WILLIE WALKER in the ruins of his church.  
PHOTO: Willie Davis/VERAS

# Looking for a Rainbow in New Orleans

In the Bible, Noah sees a rainbow arc the sky. It is a sign that God will never again destroy the earth with water. Today the refugees of New Orleans and the Gulf region wait for a new covenant with the state, a promise that never again will lives be destroyed by the waters. They wait for jobs, for food and most of all they wait for shelter. Rev. Willie Walker, born and raised in New Orleans, is picking up the pieces of that shattered hope to make a home for them.

BY NICHOLAS POWERS

I met Rev. Walker when I went to New Orleans a few days after Katrina drowned the city. Houses were buried under water. People eyed me cautiously from their porches. Reverend Walker, with a pistol on his waist, guided me around the city. He is a preacher at Noah's Ark Missionary Baptist Church and when I mentioned the irony of the title he laughed, "I was meant to be here. God wanted me to be here to help."

Unbeliever that I am, New Orleans was the closest I'd seen to Hell. Panicked men lifted skeletal survivors into vans. Bodies floated through the street. I watched Reverend Walker endure the chaos with his faith; it gave him strength to work for days with no sleep, to walk without fear through streets where the law had unraveled and what you wanted you could take. Six months later, Reverend Walker is working on obtaining transitional housing for city workers, counseling his congregation and stepping through the political redtape that is strangling the city.

**INDY: What is happening to those who can't come back home?**

REV. WALKER: The riverboats are busy. A lot of people are taking to drinking and gambling. In the black community, in particular the poor, therapy is taboo. It's seen as a weakness to have mental health problems, so folks numb themselves. Many of them are dying from heart attacks, high blood pressure and grief. They are uprooted from their homes and the stress of adapting to new cultures is too much. Some are not making it. They are coming back in bodybags. One of

my congregation members, Diane Johnson recently died of grief. She was 48.

**Who was Diane Johnson?**

Diane was native of New Orleans, she lived in the Ninth Ward. After the hurricane I got her to a shelter and gave her as much as I could. She was a sweet, giving, loyal and powerful prayer warrior who took on her daughter's autistic child. Diane had a lot of medical conditions like high blood pressure, Crohn's disease. Most time she did not feel well. I would talk to her. After leaving New Orleans she was depressed and I believe she died of grief.

**Is depression common in New Orleans?**

The pharmacist at the 24-hour Rite Aid told me he was filling out hundreds of prescriptions a day for depression. There is a lot of suffering, invisible but intense suffering that is going on here. Also it's not just psychological, because this city is contaminated. A red mold is causing sinus infections and I know young preachers in their forties who are dying from it. They catch it and never recover. The senior citizens are being kept out because of the danger, but its not really being reported.

**What is the project you are working on now?**

I'm trying to raise money to buy the Mary Joseph Residence for the Elderly. The church that owns it will sell it, and I want to turn it into transitional housing for city workers so they don't have to drive in and out everyday. New Orleans isn't going to come back until the city workers can stay here and work.

Is there a difference in how the neighborhoods are being brought back?

Rich neighborhoods like Lake View or French Quarter--the water and electricity came on immediately. In poor neighborhoods like the Ninth Ward, there is still no water and electricity. Even the middle-class black neighborhoods have no water or electricity. When you read Mayor Nagin's plan, the white areas are not touched in re-construction but black areas have to prove why they should not be demolished. If they can't prove why they should stay, they will be bulldozed and a train built through them and replaced by high-rises only the rich can afford.

**What did Katrina expose about our nation?**

It brought out the poverty. We [New Orleans] had a string of black mayors who only worked for their small circle of friends. Our corrupt politics has bred a tradition of apathy. When I encouraged people to vote they say, "Politicians ain't gonna do anything." We live in isolated pockets and we can't forge an alliance of love, there is so much hurt and so many lies told and no gestures of apology. Man's heart in this country has become hard.

**What did you do in the first few days of the flooding?**

I took my family to a safe place and prayed to God for guidance. I heard Mayor Nagin say, "Thousands people are dead." I couldn't take seeing people on TV stranded on their roofs. Early Wednesday I bought water, beef jerky, boots and clothes. When I drove to New Orleans the guards saw my supplies and waved me through. I asked police if I could help and went on rescue missions with them. They didn't know the city and I led them around. The biggest problem was people running on the boat. They were starving and needed help and were desperate to get out.

**How has the experience affected your faith?**

It made my faith stronger. The intensity of a crisis shows who you really were. If helping was in your heart, it came out.

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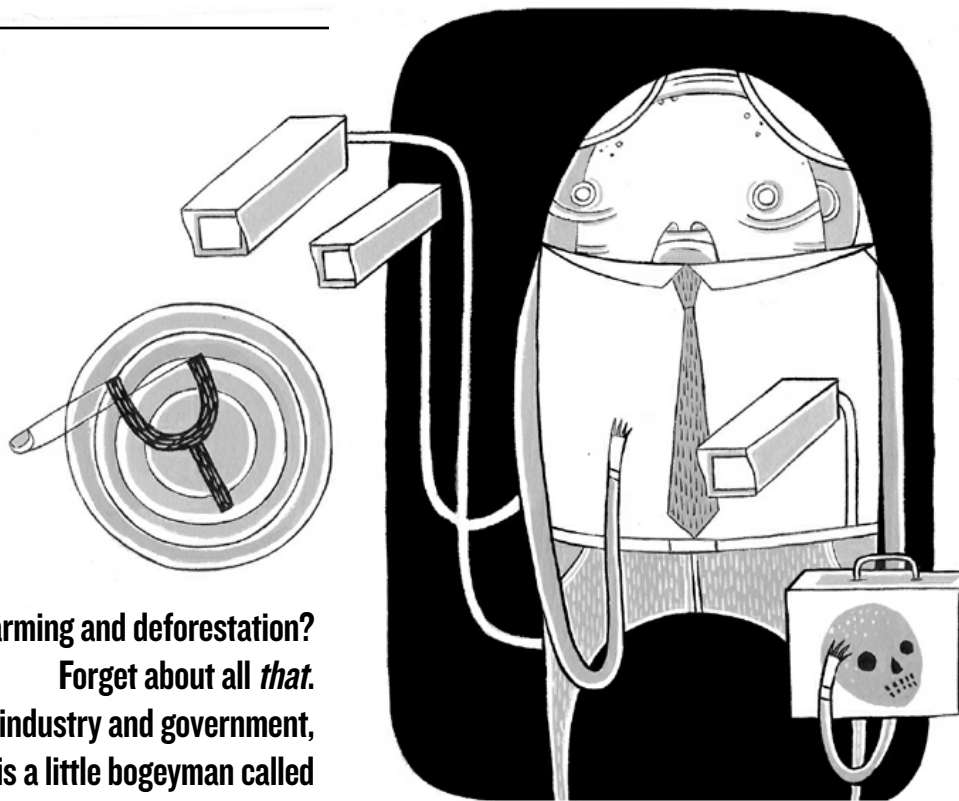
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Global warming and deforestation?  
Forget about all *that*.  
According to industry and government,  
the real problem is a little bogeyman called

# 'ECO-TERRORISM'

BY CATHERINE KOMP

In January, federal grand juries indicted 14 people on various conspiracy charges for their alleged involvement in the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) or the Earth Liberation Front (ELF).

While some federal officials and media reports liken the defendants to domestic terrorists, others, including some legal experts and free-speech groups, say the label is an intentional misnomer without legal basis.

Over the past quarter century, ELF and ALF have taken responsibility for numerous crimes of arson, vandalism and property destruction against institutions they say harm people, animals or the environment.

After several recent arrests, FBI Director Robert Mueller called animal rights and environmental "extremism" one of the bureau's highest domestic terrorism priorities.

But the activists say they are on a mission to defend, claiming that they go great lengths to avoid harming humans during their activities.

ALF and ELF activists say their goal is to engage in acts of property destruction as a means of raising the costs of doing business until they are a deterrent to conducting practices the activists oppose.

## From Buzzword to Legislation

The groups railing against "eco-terrorism" cite the public support for their campaigns, yet private interests influence their policy initiatives.

One industry-based advocacy group, the Center for Consumer Freedom, heads the movement for ecological terrorism laws.

Heavily funded by restaurant, alcohol and tobacco interests, the organization has pressed the FBI to investigate radical groups as well as mainstream organizations like the Humane Society and People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA).

Business lobbies like these have drafted model legislation to address radical environmentalist crimes. The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), a conservative public-policy organization, collaborated with the U.S. Sportsmen's Alliance, an advocacy group for hunters, fishers and trappers, to write the Animal and Ecological Terrorism Act. If passed into law, the Act would consider arson, property destruction or trespassing as acts of domestic terrorism — if committed by animal-rights activists.

While the lobbying efforts against eco-terrorism on the federal level have been largely unsuccessful, lawmakers in a number of states continue to push local versions of the ecological terrorism legislation.

## Defining a Terrorist Threat

Though Justice Department officials publicly refer to ALF and ELF defendants as "terrorists," the federal government has faced some criticism from the public and officials regarding its elastic use of the term "eco-terrorism."

According to William Banks, director of the Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism at Syracuse University, both the legal term and public perception of terrorism have been redefined since September 11. He noted that prior to the passage of the PATRIOT Act, what might now be considered "domestic terrorism" cases could be tried under conventional criminal laws.

But Banks commented that while ELF and

ALF activists might in some cases be considered criminals, they do not meet his threshold for domestic terrorism because they do not perpetrate violence against civilians in order to instill fear.

There is, however, some legal precedent for categorizing animal-defense groups as "terrorists" in the 1992 federal Animal Enterprise Protection Act, which defines "animal enterprise terrorism" as "physical disruption to the functioning of an animal enterprise," including research labs, testing facilities, zoos, aquariums, and circuses.

Some lawmakers, seeking to put eco-terrorism in perspective, have criticized the targeting of environmental activists as unwarranted.

At a hearing of the U.S. Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works last May, Senator Barak Obama (D-Illinois) cited the FBI's own assertions that crimes by ELF and ALF had been decreasing. Obama suggested that the FBI's 2003 statistics showing more than 7,400 hate crimes motivated by race, ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation, and 450 environmental crimes by industries violating clean air and water laws and improperly transporting and disposing of hazardous waste, demonstrated that there were much bigger threats.

Free-speech advocates say that aside from misguided crime-fighting priorities, there are serious repercussions of the "eco-terrorism" dragnet.

Larry Frankel, legislative director of the Pennsylvania branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, said the language of the bill introduced in his state stigmatizes only certain political viewpoints.

For example, he said, under the proposed statute, people who blockade a road to stop old growth logging could potentially be eco-terrorists, "but if an environmental law firm was preparing a brief to go to court to file an injunction, and someone came in and trashed their offices so they couldn't get the brief done, they wouldn't be guilty of eco-terrorism."

Stu Sugarman, an attorney in Portland, Ore., who has represented numerous ELF defendants, fears that the prevalence of the term "eco-terrorist" by federal officials and the press could affect the judges and juries considering the fates of defendants.

"Terrorism is a magic word," said Sugarman. "It's like child abuse or drunk driver. It immediately conjures up the image of a really bad person who we want out of society."

From [newstandardnews.net](http://newstandardnews.net)

## Nation-wide Raids Nabs 18 Eco-Activists

BY JESSICA LEE

TUSCON, Arizona—The "Green Scare" spread in February as the federal government returned three additional grand jury indictments against individuals allegedly involved in actions claimed by the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) and the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) between 1998 and 2003. Since December, 18 people have been indicted for more than a dozen crimes involving millions of dollars in damage to corporate and government property.

The nationwide crackdown, dubbed "Operation Backfire," has been hailed by the FBI as a major blow to environmentalists and animal rights activists. However, many supporters of the accused suspect that the string of arrests falls in line with decades-long FBI covert intelligence operations aimed at disrupting and discrediting political movements.

Tucson environmental and indigenous activist Rod Coronado was arrested Feb. 22 at his workplace by agents with the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms & Explosives (ATF).

The arrest was in connection with a San Diego federal grand jury indictment charging Coronado with "teaching and demonstrating the making and use of a destructive device, with the intent that the device be used to commit arson" at a public gathering in the Hillcrest neighborhood of San Diego on Aug. 1, 2003.

Three animal rights activists in San Diego were jailed last year for contempt of court for refusing to testify in the secret grand jury investigation.

In Olympia, Wash., Nathan Fraser Block and Joyanna L. Zacher were arrested Feb. 23 on two separate 14-count indictments for the May 21, 2001, arson at Jefferson Poplar Farm in Clatskanie, Ore. Block and Zacher join four other defendants already charged in connection with the action.

Block and Zacher and the other 11 co-defendants involved in the Eugene grand jury investigation are scheduled to go to trial Oct. 31. No one was injured in any of the ELF or ALF actions.

Three of the Eugene co-defendants — Daniel McGowan, Jonathan Paul and Suzanne Savoie — were granted bail and released on strict conditions at the end of January. Chelsea Gerlach and Darren Thurston are the only non-cooperating defendants yet to be released. Three other indicted individuals, Joseph Dibee, Josephine Overaker and Rebecca Rubin remain at large.

In a separate case in Sacramento, Lauren Weiner was also released on bail. Weiner was one of the three individuals arrested Jan. 16 on charges of conspiring to damage U.S. Forest Service property, mobile phone masts and power stations by explosive or fire. A warrant for their arrest reveals that a paid confidential source also had a role in the arrests.

A memorial service for Bill Rodgers was held Feb. 11 in Prescott, Arizona. Rodgers was arrested Dec. 7 and indicted on several arson actions, but reportedly took his own life on Dec. 21 while awaiting extradition to Washington. The Catalyst Info-shop, which Rodgers helped create, released a statement saying, "We mourn the passing of our dear friend and community member who worked tirelessly for the causes of social justice and environmental sustainability."



## New York Activist Caught In Sweeps

**DANIEL MCGOWAN** is an environmental and social justice activist, arrested and charged in federal court on multiple counts of arson, property destruction and conspiracy relating to two incidents that occurred in Oregon in 2001. McGowan has plead not guilty to all charges. He is facing a minimum of life in prison if convicted.

McGowan became well known as a spokesperson for protests during the Republican National Convention. He was pursuing a master's degree in acupuncture while working at [WomensLaw.org](http://WomensLaw.org), where he was arrested by federal marshals on Dec. 7, 2005. Daniel was released on more than \$1 million in bail and currently resides in New York while awaiting federal trial in Oregon.



# Iraq Unravels

BY A.K. GUPTA

The explosion of outright civil war in Iraq has left the country traumatized, the Iraqi government crippled and the U.S. occupation in ruins, but most ominously, it may be the beginning of the end for Iraq as a nation.

Even before the bombing, the Kurdish north had effectively separated while powerful Shiite politicians were pushing for an autonomous region in the south. Unable to prevent the violence, the Iraqi government has been weakened.

After the December election, Prime Minister Ibrahim Jafari was able to retain his position only because of support from the new kingmaker in Iraq, Muqtada Sadr. Yet a new government is still not in place and the violence has set that task back by months, allowing irregular forces to fill the vacuum.

Power has passed to Shiite militias, particularly Sadr's Mahdi Army, which has been behind much of the sectarian bloodletting after the Askariya Shrine in Samarra was demolished by a bomb on Feb. 22. Sadr has called for calm, but given the breadth of the violence it's clear he has a tenuous hold on his militias.

Retaliatory strikes on Sunni and Shiite mosques are still occurring, ethnic cleansing has multiplied and Shiite-based death squads are operating with impunity. The Washington Post reported that in just five days, Baghdad's main morgue "had logged more than 1,300 dead since Wednesday...

## 5 Iraq Blogs to Follow

**Baghdad Burning**  
[riverbendblog.blogspot.com](http://riverbendblog.blogspot.com)

**Healing Iraq**  
[healingiraq.blogspot.com](http://healingiraq.blogspot.com)

**The Truth about Iraqis**  
[truth-about-iraqis.blogspot.com](http://truth-about-iraqis.blogspot.com)

**A Family in Baghdad**  
[afamilyinbaghdad.blogspot.com](http://afamilyinbaghdad.blogspot.com)

**Back to Iraq**  
[www.back-to-iraq.com](http://www.back-to-iraq.com)

photographing, numbering and tagging the bodies as they came in over the nights and days of retaliatory raids."

The tally is almost certainly a significant undercount. It doesn't include other morgues or hospitals in Baghdad, death tolls from the rest of the country, families unable to bring bodies to the morgue during a strict curfew and corpses yet to be recovered.

Most victims were said to be Sunnis, with many dragged away during the curfew by Mahdi fighters.

Kathleen Ridolfo of Radio Free Europe commented: "Government forces, dominated by Shi'ite Arabs, apparently made no attempt to control the movements of militiamen, either out of fear or loyalty — perhaps a little of both."

The proliferation of militias has been U.S. policy. The U.S. military trained, armed and

equipped sectarian police forces and turned over much of Baghdad and other cities to them in the hopes of reducing troop levels.

One "high-ranking U.S. military officer" told the *L.A. Times* last November that in northeast Baghdad alone, where Sadr is based, more than 30,000 police were affiliated with his militia. The official claimed, "The Mahdi army's got the Iraqi police and Badr's got the commandos. Everybody's got their own death squads."

The White House has also pushed a sectarian division of government that has left Sunnis disempowered and embittered.

One recent poll found that 92 percent of Sunnis thought the Iraqi government was illegitimate and 88 percent endorsed attacks on U.S. forces.

Sunnis were caught off-guard by violence, but now they're preparing to fight back. Nancy Youssef of Knight Ridder reported that Sunnis across central Iraq "were sending weapons to Baghdad and were preparing to dispatch their own fighters to the Iraqi capital."

Meanwhile, the last argument for occupying Iraq — that only U.S. forces could prevent a civil war — proved hollow. U.S. commanders responded to the sectarian fury by sequestering troops inside their bases, instead of deploying them as a buffer between warring factions.



There is, of course, still the insurgency. A report from the International Crisis Group describes the armed resistance as gaining in confidence and capabilities. There has been a steady rise in the number of attacks during the past three years, averaging about 80 a day at present. And the most recent Pentagon report on the Iraqi security forces states outright that not one unit is capable of operating independently.

Ironically, if there is any force holding the country together, it is Sadr. His power base is in Baghdad so a breakup is against his interests. But that's of no comfort to the Bush administration. Speaking of the occupiers, Sadr says, "Cut off the head of the snake, then the entire evil will go away."

So goes Operation Iraqi Freedom.

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# Hopeful... and wary in Bolivia

BY MIKE AGRESTA

COCHABAMBA, Bolivia—On a typical day in the main plaza of Cochabamba, Bolivia, well-dressed businesspeople stroll through the shaded paths alongside out-of-work dawdlers and Quechua-speaking vendors. Comedians, magicians and other small-time performers draw crowds and make a living off the constant flow of people through the space. Near the central fountain, the community activist group Tinku maintains its bulletin board, a fixture in Cochabamba public life for more than seven years.

Within a few feet of the Tinku bulletin board, political discussions erupt spontaneously and last for hours as strangers arrive, listen in, and offer their opinions. Busier people pause briefly to read posted event notices and news clippings with political content highlighted in red marker.

"Our aim is to be a point of reference in the struggle," says Ramiro Saravia, co-founder of Tinku.

Almost everyone drawn in by the bulletin board eventually finds Tinku's office, where almost every night a different meeting, discussion group, video screening or lecture is open to the public. There, the political consciousness encouraged in the main plaza is given full space to develop. One night, older members of the community fill the office for a discussion about what a new Constitutional Assembly would mean for the country. At other times, there are pirate radio broadcasts and union meetings for young shoeshiners trying to protect their livelihoods during seasonal migrations back to their rural homes.

Saravia was born in Cochabamba but emigrated to Argentina when he was only three months old. He did not return to live in Bolivia until he was 15, and he made the long overland journey alone.

"Crossing the border had a big effect on me, seeing all the colors, the way the roads are poorer and the land looks different," he says. Saravia immediately involved himself in a youth group in his grandparents' neighborhood and in a student federation in his high school. In 1998 he and his friends in the public university formed Tinku as a network of activist, artistic and cultural groups.

At almost every Tinku event, someone asks what kind of group Tinku is. Saravia takes it upon himself to respond with a seemingly memorized speech about how Tinku is "self-organized, self-managed and self-financed, without pertaining to any political party or NGO." Operating expenses come from a

donation bucket handed around at informal meetings, from ecotourism and political tourism trips advertised around the city, and by traveling volunteers who contribute in return for space to sleep in the back rooms of the office.

The name refers to a traditional dance among indigenous groups where two communities in conflict will perform a ritualized war as a way of expressing and venting frustrations. Literally it can be translated to "encounter." The Tinku logo is two heads facing each other in profile, perhaps signifying an encounter within Bolivian society of colonizing and native cultures, or a meeting of Bolivia with the rest of the world.

Since then, social movements from Cochabamba have united with other important forces from both the coca-growing lowlands and the indigenous areas around La Paz to demand a change in the way Bolivia is governed. In 2000, residents of Cochabamba took to the streets to protest the privatization of their water and the subsequent price hikes that made it impossible for many poorer citizens to afford any water at all. In 2003, citizens again shut down the city in protests over a new tax, which gave way to accusations of corruption against the governing party and a mine-owning president with a habit of privatizing national resources for his own benefit.

Now, however, seems to be a moment of victory and calm for the social movements in Bolivia. The principal multinationals involved in the Water War of 2001 finally agreed in January to settle for about \$0.25 in their suit for damages against the people of Cochabamba, creating a precedent for the cancellation of other dubious privatization contracts. And Evo Morales, political leader of the coca growers movement, has made headlines around the world as the first indigenous president of Bolivia. Morales declines to wear a tie when meeting with world leaders and promises to dismantle the neoliberal system which has characterized the Bolivian economy for the last 20 years.

The new Bolivian vice-president, among other theorists, has written about how a new form of "participative democracy" ought to be allowed to replace the party-oriented "representative democracy" that has served Bolivia so poorly. A participative democracy would require a citizenry that actively involves itself



**INDIGENOUS SUPPORTERS** of Bolivia's new president Evo Morales lay down stones in "Apthapi", a communal ritual that recognizes the importance of each person's contribution to the greater good.

Photo: Bolivia.indymedia.org

in politics with the force of social movements on a daily basis, not just once every few years at the polls. Cochabamba seems ready for that leap. Tinku's constant campaigns to raise political awareness and call people to action have been crucial to that preparation.

In the middle of January, Cochabamba swelled with foreigners on the way to La Paz to witness Evo Morales's inauguration. But while Morales was officially sworn in before Congress, members of the Tinku network from around Bolivia gathered to discuss their organization's direction in the new era represented by the new president. The manifesto they emerged with reiterated Tinku's support for stated goals of the Morales administration, but it also reaffirmed Tinku's independence.

"We offer our moral and unconditional support to this change in direction for the administration of the state, we also reaffirm our independence and autonomy," the manifesto read.

Whereas under less friendly governments Tinku might fear repression, under a socially progressive government, Saravia is wary of being co-opted. In his few years as a public figure in the plaza of Cochabamba, he has seen how many other leaders compromised by political parties and foreign organizations did not achieve the changes they promised.

The night that Morales assumed the presidency, Tinku volunteers walked down to the main plaza of La Paz to celebrate. Music filled the city, a typically Bolivian fusion of funk and salsa played on native instruments. A few faces were missing from the dancing throng, however — Saravia and a couple of volunteers had headed back early to Cochabamba. They never miss a day in the plaza with their bulletin board, and that wasn't about to change just because the presidential palace had a new tenant.

For more, see [commonlanguageproject.net](http://commonlanguageproject.net)

## World briefs

### GREENLAND ICE SHEET MELTING FASTER THAN EXPECTED

Greenland's ice sheet is melting at a twice the speed predicted a decade ago, with ice disappearing at a rate of 220 cubic kilometers per year, (affecting an area extending as far north as 70 degrees latitude), according to a comprehensive study conducted by researchers at the University of Kansas and NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory. The ice sheet's accelerating disappearance has raised concerns over a feedback loop contributing to more large-scale melting, which could in turn cause greater increases in global sea levels than had been previously predicted.

### FMLN POISED TO WIN SALVADORAN POLL

The leftist Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) holds a slight lead in advance of El Salvador's March 12 legislative elections. A victory would give it control of the Assembly for the first time. The Jan. 24 death of FMLN leader Schafik Jorge Handal underscored support for Handal and the FMLN party, with 100,000 mourners attending a mass funeral in the capitol city of San Salvador. Despite leading in the polls against El Salvador's ruling party, the FMLN must counter fears of U.S. economic reprisals, especially against the 1.5 million Salvadoran workers living in the U.S., should the FMLN triumph. The FMLN lost the 2004 presidential election after Republicans in the U.S. threatened remittances sent back to El Salvador.

### OIL WAR IN NIGERIA

Royal Dutch/Shell is appealing a \$1.5 billion payment awarded to the Ijaw people in Nigeria as compensation for environmental damage. The case was taken to a Nigerian court after Shell refused to pay the sum, which was originally imposed in 2004 by the Nigerian Senate. Ijaw militants with the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) have demanded the payment before releasing nine foreign workers taken as hostages.

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**THREE OF CITE SOLEIL'S MOST WANTED ALLEGED 'GANG LEADERS'** Amara Duclona (far right), Evans Jean (center), and William Baptiste Tiblanc (far left) march in support of René Préval's presidential campaign. They maintain that they are political militants who fight for the people of Cité Soleil.



**ELECTION DAY:** People wait in huge lines at the Building 2004 polling station, one of four polling stations for Cité Soleil residents. Prior to the election, the Provisional Electoral Council (CEP) decided not to place polling stations inside Cité Soleil.



**LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT:** The tombs of four people who were allegedly killed by MINUSTAH (UN) gunfire in Cité Soleil on Nov. 27, 2005. In Haiti, UN peacekeepers have bolstered a fragile coup d'état and engaged in counter-insurgency.



**WOMEN HOLD UP THEIR NATIONAL ID CARDS** during an election-day protest. Due to the voting booths not being ready, confusion and mayhem erupted.

Top, from far left—

**ANNE THERESE COLLAPSES** in grief at her brother Monescale Richard's funeral. A resident of Cité Soleil, Richard was killed by Jordanian soldiers serving in the U.N. force known as MINUSTAH (U.N. Stabilization Mission in Haiti). Richard was returning from picking up his national ID card at the industrial park controlled by the U.N. when he was killed. All Cité Soleil residents were required to pick up their cards at the industrial park, outside of Cité Soleil, in order to vote;

**SAUVEUR SENATUS**, sister of Monescale Richard;

**A KINDERGARTEN CLASSROOM** in the Pere Bohnen Salesiens school in Cité Soleil, riddled with bullet holes. Teachers at the school claim that the shootings took place on two separate occasions in late December and early January, and that the shooting came from UN forces. The teachers said it was fortunate that the children happened to be on Christmas vacation, or there would have been casualties;

**A BRAZILLIAN MINUSTAH** soldier guards the polling station known as Aviation, one of four polling stations for Cité Soleil residents.

**SEARCHING A TAP-TAP—** MINUSTAH soldiers search Port-au-Prince's version of public transportation following rumors that arms were destined for the slum militia;

**NOT ON THE BALLOT—** A man holds up a Ché Guevara picture while marching during a rally in support of René Préval.

# CITE SOLEIL

## Ballots & Bullets in Haiti



(inset)—**WOMEN DEMAND** voting centers in Cité Soleil before the Feb. 7 elections.

(center)—**LAW & DISORDER:** A Haitian police officer guards Aviation, another one of Cité Soleil's four polling stations.



Located on the edge of Haiti's capitol city of Port-au-Prince, Cité Soleil is a vast neighborhood of crumbling tin shacks and endless heaps of rotting garbage mired in the most desperate poverty. When I first visited in January, the air was always thick with the sound of machinegun fire exchanged between U.N. "peacekeepers" and armed local residents, who support Jean-Bertrand Aristide. A former priest-turned-president, Aristide was deposed and forced into exile by a U.S.-backed coup in February 2004.

As the Feb. 7 elections approached, the situation in Cité Soleil changed markedly. Gone were the young men toting automatic weapons and the gunfire. Instead, militants started donning tee shirts and organizing rallies to support the presidential campaign of former Aristide ally René Préval.

Despite many apparent attempts to disenfranchise the population of Cité Soleil from voting, — all voting centers were removed from Cité Soleil, forcing people to walk down the most dangerous road in Port-au-Prince in order to vote — on election day people showed up in droves to cast their ballots.



For Cité Soleil's 200,000 plus residents, participating in the vote was regarded as a matter of life and death. They knew that the election of right-wing business candidate Charles Henri Baker would likely result in a massacre; whereas the election of Préval was expected to bring the development of schools, hospitals and housing.

On Election Day, I arrived at daybreak at one of the voting centers on the far outskirts of Cité Soleil, to find that thousands of people had already been standing in line for hours. All day long, people rallied and danced through the streets carrying tree branches — the symbol of Préval's Lespwa (or, "Hope") Party — demanding the right to vote. I watched the incredible passion of people fighting their way through the massive and chaotic line to have their voice heard in the election. In the face of considerable discouragement and obstacles, Cité Soleil residents persevered — and their efforts paid off in the successful election of their candidate. I can only hope that the strength and hope of the people of Cité Soleil is not forgotten by President Préval in the years to come.



(far left)—People hold up their hands in front of their faces to hide their identities at a rally in Cité Soleil in support of René Préval. (center)—**RESIDENTS OF CITE SOLEIL** surround a MINUSTAH armored troop transport and chant "aba MINUSTAH, allez MINUSTAH" (down with MINUSTAH, get out MINUSTAH) during a protest to demand voting centers be installed in their neighborhood. (right)—**PEOPLE ARGUE** with election staff at the "Building 2004" polling station.

### Photography and Report By Andrew Stern

#### 4 Websites to Follow

**Institute for Justice & Democracy in Haiti**  
ijdh.org  
Activist lawyers who keep repression in Haiti on the world's radar screen.

**Free Haiti: A Researcher's Blog**  
freehaiti.net  
Digs up the dirt on U.S.-financed "democracy promotion" in Haiti.

**Haiti Progres**  
haitiprogres.com  
The trilingual site (French, Creole and English) of the Haiti Progres newspaper that has been publishing since 1983.

**SF Bay Indymedia**  
indybay.org/international/haiti/  
Indybay is one of the Indymedia network's premiere sites, with a comprehensive, frequently updated roundup of news about Haiti's struggle.

### A proud, free people in a land of tyranny

By JED BRANDT  
Sources: AFSC & Wikipedia

**1492** Columbus lands and claims the island *Hispaniola* for Spain. He encounters the Taino people, who called their land *Ayiti*, noting in his journal that "with 50 men you could subjugate everyone and make them do what you wished."

**GENOCIDE**  
The Taino people are enslaved, brutalized, driven to suicide and exterminated.

**1520s** The Spanish first import African slaves.

**1697** Treaty of Ryswick divides Hispaniola into *Saint Domingue*

(French) and *Santo Domingo* (Spanish). Today they are known as *Haiti* and the *Dominican Republic*, respectively.

**SLAVERY**  
The French colony of *Saint Domingue* is the most lucrative colony in the world, more than the 13 Colonies of English settlement. Its slave-produced tropical crops — sugar, rum, cotton, tobacco, and indigo — generate great wealth. Near the end of the 18th century, 500,000 to 700,000 people, mainly of west-ern African origin, are enslaved by the French.

**1791-1803** Slave uprisings result in emancipation. Half of Haiti's population is killed in the course of struggle.

**1804** Haiti defeats France's army sent to re-impose slavery, making it the first Black republic in the Americas.

**REBELLION**  
The story of Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Haitian revolution are told in *The Black Jacobins* by C.L.R. James.

**1915-34** U.S. Marines invade and occupy Haiti. People resist.

**1957-71** François "Papa Doc" Duvalier becomes President of Haiti. He forms the dreaded Tonton Macoutes, a permanent death squad at his service.

**1971** Duvalier dies and his son, known as "Baby Doc," takes over.

**1986** Popular protest drives Baby Doc into exile on the French Riviera. In New York City, Haitian exiles parade in the thousands over the Manhattan Bridge, dancing in celebration.

**1987** In July, large landowners massacre hundreds of peasants demanding land. In November, presi-

dential elections are cancelled after Army soldiers and former Tonton Macoutes massacre dozens of would-be voters.

**1990** First free presidential election. A former priest, Jean-Bertrand Aristide is elected with a 67 percent vote.

**1991** After a failed coup attempt by former Tonton Macoutes, Aristide is sworn in at the beginning of the year, only to be deposed in September. Aristide goes into exile in the U.S., and an international embargo is enforced against Haiti, adding to the already desperate poverty.

**1991-94** Thousands of boat people flee violence and repression. Many enter the U.S. as refugees, most are repatriated to Haiti by the U.S. government.

**1994** The U.S. forces Haiti's military leaders to resign and sends in troops. The occupation is sanctioned by the U.N. The U.S. returns a chastened Aristide to the presidency.

**1995** Aristide dissolves the Haitian army. The U.S. nominally hands over military authority to the U.N. but keeps effective control of the occupation. René Préval is elected president.

**2001-03** Aristide wins 92 percent of the vote in elections boycotted by the upper classes. The U.S. encourages instability and former military units begin fighting along the Dominican border and in the capital. U.N. peacekeepers leave.

**2004** In Haiti's 200th year of independence, a revolt breaks out in the north that ultimately drives Aristide from office. He says that he was abducted by U.S. forces and forced into exile. U.N. Res. 1529 authorizes an occupation force, with troops from France, Canada, Chile, the U.S. and eventually Brazil.



# Black Gold Funds The Chávez Dream

BY CHRISTIAN PARENTI

CARACAS, Venezuela—In a drab industrial suburb outside Caracas lies the Guatire gasoline distribution facility, property of the state-owned oil company, Petroleos de Venezuela, Sociedad Anónima (PDVSA). The plant isn't much to look at: a few flat buildings, a series of larger spherical tanks and four loading bays. Despite its unremarkable appearance, it was here at the Guatire plant that Hugo Chávez's left-leaning Bolivarian revolution faced one of its gravest tests.

Guatire is the sole gasoline and fuel distribution center for the entire Caracas region, serving at least seven million people. Its strategic position made it the linchpin of the crippling, management-led oil strike in the winter of 2002-03 that brought Venezuela's economy to its knees. If no fuel had moved in or out of this little distribution center, Caracas would have fallen into anarchy, and Hugo Chávez's revolution would have likely been swept away.

In Venezuela oil is everything, and PDVSA is the central

institution of the oil economy. Created in 1975 when the entire Venezuelan petroleum industry was nationalized, PDVSA has operated as "a state within a state," never fully controlled by any of the governments that technically owned it. The engineers, geologists and managers who traditionally ran the company constituted a class unto themselves: petroleros: the cream of the Venezuelan elite.

Today PDVSA makes at least \$40 billion a year in revenues, and all of Venezuela is financially dependent on PDVSA. Petroleum sales provide half of state income and make up 80 percent of all Venezuelan exports.

Yet oil has also been a curse. Its profitability has boosted the value of Venezuela's currency, making imports cheap and exports uncompetitive, thus killing off much local industry. Massive oil wealth has left the country with an administrative culture of dependency, corruption, incompetence and bureaucratic ossification.

Since coming to office in 1999, Chávez has attempted to fundamentally reform Venezuela's political culture and econ-

omy. To address Venezuela's widespread poverty, his government has spent billions on new social programs. But to really transform Venezuela, to move away from oil dependency and create development alternatives, Chávez must first control PDVSA — something no previous president has managed to do.

During the early years of his presidency, Chávez appointed a series of loyalists to run the company, but each failed. The company remained a black box at best; at worst, a staging ground for saboteurs. That is, until the strike.

The December 2002 oil strike started out slowly at first, but affairs quickly turned grim as PDVSA's fleet of tankers refused to move, headquarters staff walked off the job, and the whole system began backing up and shutting down. Within days, gas supplies had begun to run out, and chaos seemed imminent. Many top Chavistas felt that accommodation with the strikers had to be reached at almost any cost. But Alí Rodríguez, then head of PDVSA, recommended firing the strikers — all 18,000 managers, engineers and work-

## A Closer Look at '21st Century

### Community Radio Crackles in Caracas

BY SUJATHA FERNANDES

CARACAS, Venezuela—Four young people sit around a large table, writing furiously amid piles of notes, cans of soda and crumpled-up papers. They could be kids doing their homework or studying for exams. But these young women from the shantytowns, aged between 17 and 22 years, are preparing for their hour-long program, Public Power, on air in ten minutes on community radio station Radio Perola, 92.3FM, in the Caracas parish of Caricuao.

Caricuao is one of the outer western parishes of Caracas. As the subway train from the center of Caracas approaches, we pass by flimsy tin and board houses nestled in the sides of the looming hills and large project-like buildings with bars across the windows. Radio Perola is located on the ground floor of one of these "projects." The broadcasting studio is a small room, painted bright yellow and covered with movement posters. On one large corner table there is a mixer, microphone and computer, and at a round table in the center there are several mikes and chairs.

Like other community radio stations in Venezuela, Radio Perola began as a clandestine station almost nine years ago, and activists have fought for it to be legally authorized by the state. Under the hip-hop-inspired slogan, "Maximum Respect!" community journalists at Radio Perola are creating spaces for new voices, such as those of the young women, to be heard.

The young women divide their program, Public Power, into distinct segments. These include an invited guest to speak about a specific topic relevant to the community, a news segment, a roundtable discussion about a particular current event, and then a segment called "Community Realities." During this final segment, the women debate with each other,

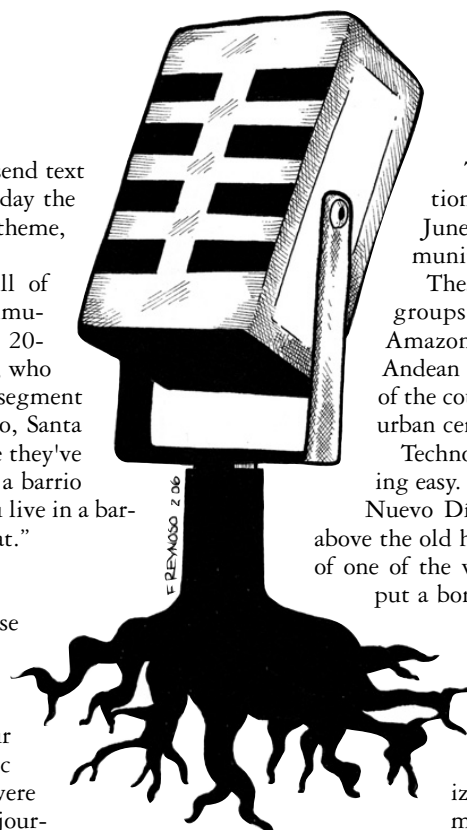
as well as listeners who call in or send text messages via their cell phones. Today the young women are addressing the theme, "Living in the Barrio."

"A barrio is not just hills full of stairways; the barrio is the community," says Lilibeth Marcano, a 20-year-old member of the collective, who opens the discussion during this segment of the program. "I live in a barrio, Santa Cruz de Las Adjuntas. It's not like they've always told us, that if you live in a barrio you don't have a future, that if you live in a barrio you're nobody. It's not like that."

#### Broadcast explosion

Young people, especially those from the barrios, are realizing that they do have a future and they can play important roles in their communities. All of the four young women from the Public Power collective say that they were inspired to become community journalists following the hijacking of information by the private media during the right-wing coup d'état against leftist President Hugo Chávez in April 2002.

Since Chávez was reinstated as President on April 13, 2002, two days after the coup, there has been an explosion of community radio stations. Activists across the country have sought to establish local control over the information reaching their communities.



The number of licensed community radio stations has increased from 13 in 2002 to 170 by June of 2005. Over 300 more unsanctioned community radio stations have also emerged.

These are created and operated by a range of local groups, including indigenous people in the Amazonian south of Venezuela, peasants in the Andean regions, Afro-Venezuelans in the coastal north of the country, and residents of the barrios in the major urban centers.

Technological advances have made radio broadcasting easy. For example, the community radio station Un Nuevo Día, located in a very poor barrio in the hills above the old highway out of Caracas, began in the bedroom of one of the women residents. The community journalists put a borrowed mixer, a CD player, and a microphone on the woman's dresser. They transmitted through a small antenna. Invited guests would sit on the woman's bed.

However, community radio activists have had to fight a hard battle with the government to have their stations legalized. After Chávez was elected in 1998, community media activists began to raise issues of the right to communication. This led to the passing of a new law in 2000 that gave communities the right to set up a station, but in order to gain authorization, the National Commission of Telecommunications (Conatel) proposed that the stations meet complex requirements. During my visit to the Conatel office, in a spacious middle-class suburb, I was shown a 70-page instructional guide that must be completed by community stations who attempt to obtain authorization.





# The Persistence Of Poverty In the New Venezuela

BY EVA GOLINGER

CAPUCHINO, Venezuela—If you navigate far enough down the Orinoco River in Venezuela to no man's land, among cotton fields, wide river banks, dancing dolphins, piranhas and the vast unknown, you'll find Capuchino. This little pueblo is truly the land of the forgotten.

Almost 400 people reside here, most born and raised in this riverside community with no paved roads or drinking water, just the broad Orinoco river with its succulent fish. A partially constructed "Bolivarian" school shadows dimly in the distance from the river — some private contractor shafted the government and never finished the job. The tiny medical clinic is locked because the nurse — not a doctor around — left for the mainland and never returned. Electricity comes and goes with the tide and the only music jets from an eighties boom-box that is used for all local celebrations.

I found Capuchino by chance while traveling with Venezuelan Minister of Agriculture and Lands Antonio Albarrán and his team, during an inspection of cotton fields and fishing production all along the Orinoco. We banked spontaneously at the site of a small community, barely visible from the glistening Orinoco. The homes were all made of earth, mud, "barro." No concrete, no bricks, just dirt, sand, water and man. "Ranchos," they call them, some with aluminum roofs in the luckiest of cases.

In Capuchino, there are no mattresses, just hammocks made by the sweat and labor of the local women. A tiny little girl, hair discolored from malnutrition, peered out the door of one shack, and more followed. A young man, José Orlando Blanco, peeked from behind a tin door plastered with magazine advertisements, embarrassed to show his face to the newcomers. His right eye was inflamed, deformed from birth. I returned days later with the rest of the crew, at the orders of Minister Albarrán, to transport José Orlando to Caracas for medical treatment. Soon, he will return to Capuchino with two perfect eyes instead of one, a token contribution that will change that young man's life forever. That is the essence of the Bolivarian Revolution that has captivated the world.

The Orinoco and its native villages, like Capuchino, are full of contradictions. We continued down the open waters to Apure State, to the fishing village of Arichuna, encountering more forgotten souls, severe medical situations, shut-down hospitals, dysfunctional schools and cracking mud homes. But the spirits of the locals remained strong. "We are with Chávez," most cried, out of the depths of their misery, "but we need help, we are forgotten."

Minister Albarrán asked me, after three days on the river, stopping in various pueblos and villages, consulting communities and witnessing life in its most dire straights, "What do you think now of all this?" I refrained from answering at that moment, and my response came days later. Venezuela is a land of contradictions. An immense beauty circles an unbearable misery. Impoverished fishermen catch exotic fish that are shipped around the world as delicacies, savored by the wealthy, while the desolate producers patch holes on their shacks with clay.

"What do you think?" I think the revolution is long overdue. I think the hard work is to come. I think Venezuelans are a strong-willed, tough people, and I feel deep pride to have their blood run through me like the Orinoco river. I think as we awaken our consciousness we will step aboard this boat gliding down the infinite river. River of hope, river of change, river that flows through the heart of Venezuela, bringing the revolution to the forgotten, the miserable, the wretched. When both eyes are given sight again, we will embark upon the true revolution that will change Venezuela, and the world, forever.

Eva Golinger is a Venezuelan-American attorney and the author of *The Chávez Code: Cracking US Intervention in Venezuela*. A longer version of this article originally appeared at [venezuelanalysis.com](http://venezuelanalysis.com)

ers who had left their posts, nearly 45 percent of PDVSA's personnel — and Chávez followed his advice. In the government's view, Rodríguez's harsh counterassault on the strikers succeeded in flushing out an entire class of entrenched saboteurs and counterrevolutionaries who would have been impossible to purge one by one. And in rebuilding PDVSA, the Chávez government has sought to transform it into something more than an oil company — an engine of alternative development.

## A Different Kind of Oil Company

On the east side of Caracas on a hilltop in the huge slum of Catia sits an old gasoline distribution plant, almost iden-

tical in its layout to the Guatire plant. But this one was decommissioned 12 years ago and has recently been turned into the Fabricio Ojeda Endogenous Development Nucleus. It is a sort of socialist business park, a model for future growth and the perfect symbol of PDVSA's transformation into something more than an oil company.

Chavez is massively excited about these endogenous development centers, and hundreds are planned; this one includes cooperative shoe and apparel factories, a large clinic, a school to train new cooperatives and a series of terraced hillside gardens for training in alternative agriculture. Known by their Spanish acronym as NUDEs, these focal points of industrial training, social services and investment are supposed to become the motors of the new egalitarian, geographically decentralized, non-petroleum dependent economy that Chávez hopes to construct. All government ministries will be required to fund and organize NUDEs, but so far only PDVSA's Nucleo Fabricio Ojeda is up and running.

At La Campiña, the PDVSA headquarters, I met Daniel Nuñez Gleyndes and one of his older, supervising comrades, Ingel Vere. In a small, windowless office, the two Chavistas told me the tale of their work and how they arrived at PDVSA.

During the strike, anti-government mobs had stormed PDVSA's central offices. Leftist community organizations responded. "La Campiña is like the White House of PDVSA. We couldn't let them have it," explains Vere, who worked with a coalition of Caracas community organizations during the oil strike.

But now, with the worst of the crisis over, the Restructuring Committee turned to other tasks. "Now we're changing the culture here," explains Nuñez in a more philosophical tone. "There are still many people who do nothing but collect a check. We want them out. All the escualidos should go."

## "If we fail, another century of misery"

Toward the end of my trip, I meet Hector Ciavaldini in the quiet courtyard of a hotel. He was one of the first truly Chavista presidents of PDVSA. When I ask him about the progress of the revolution he turns the conversation back to PDVSA. Does he think PDVSA can recover from the firings, the strike and the ongoing sabotage?

"It is too soon to know," says Ciavaldini with a shrug. "But I'll tell you this: if we do not get this right, we are doomed. I don't just mean the revolution, or Venezuela. I mean all of Latin America. If we fail, it means another century of misery, violence and hunger."

This is a grand mission, nothing less than a relaunching of the socialist dream. But grand missions run the risk of hyperbole and overheating into ideological froth. And with oil prices well above \$50 a barrel, the ongoing crisis at PDVSA, and thus at the heart of the Venezuelan revolution, can easily be overlooked. The tendency is to spend the windfall, to invest in big ideas and talk of even bigger ones.

At times, Chávez encourages this with discourse that veers into messianic mumbo-jumbo. Recently he proclaimed: "Either capitalism, which is the road to hell, or socialism, for those who want to build the kingdom of God here on Earth."

Among the fishermen and oil workers of Ciudad Ojeda or the women making shoes at the Nucleo Fabricio Ojeda, it's the smaller things that matter most. They want jobs, loans, education and contracts for their new cooperatives. The kingdom of God can wait.

# Socialism'

Given the difficulties of complying with Conatel's regulations, community media activists decided to create a National Association of Alternative and Community Media, or ANMCLA. Carlos Lugo, one of ANMCLA's founders and a community journalist with the station Radio Negro Primero, sees the organization as based on the principle of the right to communication. "The community can themselves authorize a station and when the community recognizes the station, it is legal. There is no such thing as an illegal station — everyone has the right to communication."

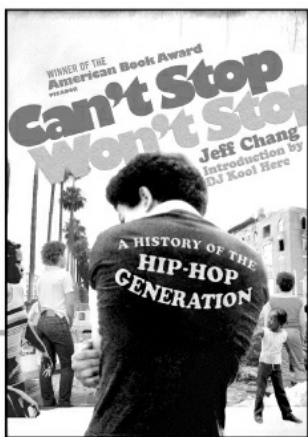
## Paying the Bills

Community radio stations receive a limited amount of financing from the state. For authorized stations, there is the possibility of financing for equipment or infrastructure from Conatel or other government agencies such as the Ministry of Information. There is also some paid government advertising in community radio.

However, what keeps the community stations on the air are the contributions of small businesses in the neighborhood. The state may give a one time contribution, but it is the regular monthly payments from the auto repair shop and from the local bakery that maintain the activities of the stations in the long term. "The idea is that we should... have the capacity to be self-sustaining," said Carlos Carles of Radio Perola, "because if they give you money and they give you your daily bread, they begin to ask, why are you doing this, why are you doing that? We prefer autonomy in what we do."

Sujatha Fernandes is working on a history of Venezuelan social movements. A longer version of this article appeared on [zmag.org](http://zmag.org)

A longer version of this article appeared in *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 39:4, Jan/Feb 2006. See [nacla.org](http://nacla.org).



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**The Poetry of Dissent**  
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Saturday Seminar: 10:00 am - 3:00 pm  
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**Marxist Theory Then & Now**  
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## reviews

# Another White Rose

**Sophie Scholl:  
The Final Days**

Directed by Marc Rothemund  
Written by Fred Breinersdorfer

A distressed voice from the back of the theater cried out at the end of *Sophie Scholl: The Final Days*, "It's happening again! We've got to stop it!" A murmur of agreement arose among the theatergoers.

Sophie Scholl (Julia Jentsch), her brother Hans (Fabian Hinrichs), and their friend, Christoph Probst (Florian Stetter), are students at Munich University, and members of the White Rose resistance group during World War II. They oppose Hitler and the war, distribute antiwar leaflets, are caught, interrogated, and sentenced to the guillotine.

The film is a persuasive dramatization of a political tragedy—and a warning against, perhaps an omen of, "evils imminent."

—DONALD PANETH

# Vacation Dystopias

**Last Resorts**

By Polly Pattullo  
MONTHLY REVIEW PRESS

The one thing a tourist hates is other tourists. And you know who I'm talking about: skin sun-burned to hell, goofy t-shirts that read "Life is a Beach" and the requisite oversized sombrero. They are the throngs shuffling off cruise ships docked in Montego Bay, Jamaica, or the crowd at a all-inclusive hotel slurping piña coladas and lounging by the water in the Bahamas. Looking for fun in the sun, tourists to the Caribbean usually find it, but what benefits do they bring to the region? In *Last Resorts*, Polly Pattullo presents an Economics 101 of tourism in the Caribbean.

Paced like an undergraduate reading assignment, the book is packed with every aspect of tourism from the cruise ship industry to crunchy granola backpackers on eco-tourist boat rides in preserved lands. The first tourists to the Caribbean, roughly encompassing the Florida Keys to the coasts of Venezuela and Guyana, were the landed gentry and industrial barons of the global North escaping cold winters. They felt at home with the plantation owners and "the help" was always friendly. Today, everyone from middle-class suburban couples to vacation-loving Germans can lay down one check and get the food, drink and beach package without leaving the hotel and its friendly staff. However, many of these hotels are built with local government subsidies, pay low wages and monopolize the best beaches. Adding salt to the wound, the hotels are mostly for-



# REDNECK NATION: Not As Funny As You'd Think

**CSA: The Confederate States of  
America**

Directed by Kevin Wilmott

Like the westerns of the late 1960s, the fake documentary genre has now aged to the point where it's badly in need of a revisionist approach. While the last couple years have seen the documentary film evolve in ways large and small, its faux brethren continue to ape the same Ken Burns/PBS/talking-head style doc now quickly disappearing from the media landscape.

Sadly, Kevin Willmott's *CSA: The Confederate States of America* relies on this same tired formula as it re-imagines the last 140 years of U.S. history as if the Confederacy had won the Civil War. In not applying this revisionist concept to the filmmaking itself, the film takes a potentially provocative satire and buries it in cliché, poor technique and only the most obvious historical references.

The promise of the initial idea does manage to sustain the film for the first third, but not before it becomes painfully clear that a genuine re-conception of U.S. history loses out to cheap, would-be laughs. At Appomattox, Grant surrenders to Lee while Lincoln is forced to escape to Canada via Harriet Tubman's Underground Railroad.

Slavery continues unabated. When the United States allies itself with Hitler during World War II, the "indentured workforce" is recommended as an alternative approach to

the Holocaust for handling Jews. JFK dreams of finally emancipating the slaves only to be assassinated, while one Mississippi family consistently dominates the American political landscape (no points for guessing who this is modeled on).

Sounds dangerously funny right? Perhaps on paper, but this satire's utter lack of precision proves its downfall. The interviews (of the same two people) go for the shock of someone seriously using a racial slur again and again. Reenactments and faked footage from old films reflect a poor grasp of basic film technique. The clips from RKO films of the '40s and '50s look insultingly like high school plays. Worst of all, the film uses SNL-style commercial parodies to heighten the lack of invention on display. As with every historical event in the film, the locally produced TV ad remains too easy a target.

Of course, the simplistic argument here is to show how far we haven't come since emancipation, so when the racist products from the fake ads are revealed as real at the film's end, the supposed shock is dulled by the mention of Aunt Jemima, as if to make sure the nail is hit squarely for everyone. A low budget is no excuse. Even a bit of actual research might have elevated the film beyond its Cliff Notes version of U.S. history.

Flat-footed, repetitious and dull, the film's few good ideas are pounded hard for the tone-deaf: it's *Scary Movie* for smug, self-congratulatory arthouse patrons. And maybe I'm confused, but shouldn't satire, especially satire the viewer wholly supports, be at least occasionally funny?

—CHARLIE BASS

eign owned and have an exclusive clientele.

*Last Resorts* strikes the heart of the matter when it asks if the plantation society of yore is reincarnated in the tourism of today. The hotels, cruise ship companies and, most important, the airlines buy up the islands and make the profits. Whenever big business wants something (usually tax breaks or the right to build on ecologically fragile land) investors threaten to leave town.

The sometimes awkward interaction (if any) between tourists and Caribbean locals usually starts and stops with an exchange of goods. In its most extreme form, the goods are the local teenage girls in the company of pasty middle-aged johns who procure them. Sex tourism is especially rampant in the

Dominican Republic and Cuba.

*Last Resorts* lays out a barrage of facts and numbers and poses tough questions to the tourist industry and vacationers. The book is a buzz kill, so don't put it in your tote bag before leaving LaGuardia, for your winter getaway.

—BENNETT BAUMER

# Slum porn

**Rats**

By Robert Sullivan  
BLOOMSBURY

In case you missed it, *Rats* should be required reading for all New York City residents.

Almost every building that I've worked with as a tenant organizer has had a problem with roaches and mice. But the worst tenements have rats. Sullivan's book takes you to the back alleys and slums of New York and presents rats as they are: wild urban animals.

*Rats'* most important chapter is on extermination and the various ways to kill off the rodents who bite an alarming 170 people a year. Most of those who are bitten are children. While laying poison and traps is important for both tenants and landlords, every New York City slumlord should read this book as a how-to in locating and preventing rat nests, eliminating entry points in a building and other pest-control techniques.

—BENNETT BAUMER



# Jah Love the Sisters

BY STEVEN WISHNIA

Trojan Records, the label most responsible for bringing reggae to Britain – to an audience of Jamaican immigrants, skinheads and future punk-rockers – has poured out tons of reissues recently. The one spinning frequently in my iPod is Reggae Sisters, a three-CD box of songs by Jamaican women singers from roughly 1967-75.

Most of these women – with the exception of Marcia Griffiths, Judy Mowatt and Rita Marley, who went on to become Bob Marley's backup singers – are little known beyond hardcore fans. The Rasta domination of '70s reggae, while it produced some of the most amazing music in the history of the world, was a vegetarian sausagefest, eclipsing the women – much as hippie-era music largely excised black musicians from rock culture. And this music is more pop than roots. There are far more songs about love triangles than about Jah vs. Babylon, and the set is heavy with reggaefied versions of Anglo-

American hits, from "Stand By Your Man" (yes, it works) to the 1968 free-love tune "Angel of the Morning." The main vibe parallels soul music, from girl-group through Stax-Volt up to proto-disco (Griffiths' reading of the Three Degrees' 1974 gay-bar closing-time anthem, "When Will I See You Again").

Choice cuts include: Merlene Webber's "Hard Life;" Barbara Jones' "I Can't Help It Darling;" Susan Cadogan's cover of "Fever," produced by Lee Perry so the guitar skanks like metal clanking; and Griffiths' "Gypsy Man," a sensual reworking of the Impressions' "Gypsy Woman." (The Impressions, whose Curtis Mayfield was the most politically conscious songwriter in '60s soul and penned great love

songs, were a huge influence on Marley and the whole reggae vocal-trio sound.) Complete with Spanish-flavored guitar on top, "Gypsy Man" could almost fit into a bachata-reggaeton set on La Mega.

There are a few misses – an incongruously jaunty version of Elvis Presley's bathetic "In the

Ghetto" (the only Elvis song ever to have its lyrics reprinted in the Black Panther Party newspaper) – and the sound quality is a bit iffy; the horns distort noticeably on a few tracks. But the singing is soulful, the bass grooves fat, and the percussion delightfully ganjalogical. If you like reggae and '60s soul, this is definitely worth finding.

## Bass Heaven

I went to bass heaven Jan. 26, with Jah Wobble and the English Roots Band at Avalon. Wobble, best known for the two albums he did with Public Image Limited, Johnny Lydon's post-Sex Pistols band, was one of the first rock bassists to weave their reggae influences into an original style. Since then, he's added Asian and Arabic flavors to his music and recorded with Pharoah Sanders and Sinéad O'Connor. But the core of it remains Wobble's batholithic bass tone – big, viscous, and deep – and heavily hypnotic groove, repeating simple riffs to create a bottom-end trance.

The set peaked with "Visions of You" (recorded with O'Connor in 1991, the closest Wobble came to a hit) and a long version of Dawn Penn's "(No, No, No) You Don't Love Me" a song that should have been on Reggae Sisters – MC Dr. Israel, trumpeter Graham Haynes, and bassist Bill Laswell joined in for the second half of the show. Some of it got too jammy for my tastes, but overall it was exhilarating, a brew of dub heartbeat and the murky cosmic funk of '70s Miles Davis.

Opens Balkan Beat Box are also worth checking out. They layer klezmer and East European melodies on top of highly danceable ska, hip-hop and dub rhythms. Avalon is not a very fun place to see live music, though. It's the kind of club where male customers get patted down before getting in, and the bouncers chase you out while the tubes on the amps are still warm.



# Empire Means Never Having to Say You're Sorry

BY PAUL BUHLE

Doesn't it seem like decades, even generations, have passed since the grand moments of writers as diverse (but ultimately like-minded and long-winded) as Samantha Power and Jorge Castaneda? Hailed as savants, they described a world in which opposition to U.S. policies had become foolish, reactionary and downright dangerous. What the world needed – and this got the two authors wide attention, fabulous book sales and top-flight academic appointments – was the doctrine of less resistance and more intervention.

No doubt the two regard the current Bush regime as an unmitigated disaster, recalling with nostalgia the days of Clintonism. The rhetoric then was so much better. And fundamentalists, not to mention indigenists, were fairly well controlled.

There's the problem pinpointed by any volume on war crimes, despite any and all efforts to make such crimes out to be the creation of megalomaniac politicians and heartless military functionaries. Mainstream writers, liberal and conservative alike, on the subject continue to operate within bipartisan defense of Empire. In this view, imperial self-defense occasionally

## In the Name of Democracy: American War Crimes in Iraq and Beyond

Edited by Jeremy Brecher, Jill Cutler and Brendan Smith.

HENRY HOLT/METROPOLITAN

oversteps accepted boundaries but more often operates within normal boundaries. The starvation of impoverished sections of populations (especially the very young and old) in unfriendly regimes; the reintroduction of nuclear weapons (i.e., depleted uranium); and during the invasion/occupation process, the usual torture, physical and mental, upon the civilian population — none of these are beyond the purview of proper global action, or at any rate not very far beyond the correctable limits.

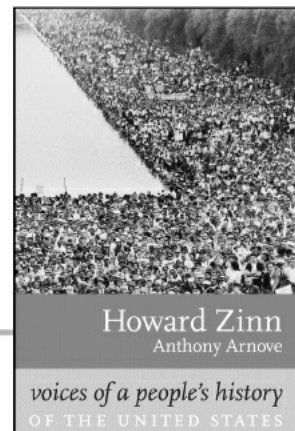
*In the Name of Democracy* is a fine summary and synthesis of the particulars since 9/11 on the U.S. side. The definition of war crimes, going back to the 1940s, was further clarified at least in some respects over subsequent decades by U.N. decisions and proclamations.

Nevertheless, as Bill Clinton demonstrated in the NATO bomb-

ing of Serbia without U.N. approval, the architects of empire could never be expected to accept their own actions as illegal, any more than George W. Bush can accept legal limits upon his power today.

On the contrary: liability is logically non-existent. If a wrong has been done, then the officials of the empire will investigate and correct such. No one else has jurisdiction, the moral right even to question directly those in charge. Harry Truman would never have accepted such questioning on the introduction of atomic warfare. Why, then, should subsequent presidents have accepted hard questions on the reintroduction of the nuclear battlefield or anything else? And they have not. All future war crimes, by the United States at any rate, are certain to be accompanied by insistence of human rights improvements and limits upon U.S. projects to exercise hegemony viewed as the very source of future trouble. That's where the issue of war crimes stands today, and the proof is in the pudding of Iraq. Here is the reason why *In the Name of Democracy* should be on the desk of every activist.

*Paul Buble is a historian of the left and is currently involved with the re-launch of Students for a Democratic Society.*



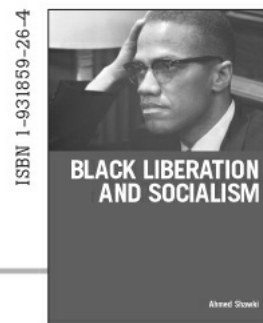
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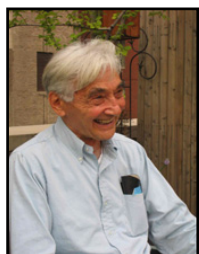
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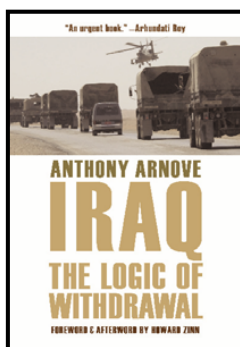
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Foreword and afterword  
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## 3-Way Fantasies Meet Complicated Realities

BY AMY WOLF

On a physical level, threesomes make sense. A love triangle offers a higher pleasure to flesh ratio than your typical love-handshake. The triangle is an ancient tantric and mystical symbol for sacred enclosure as it is the simplest geometric form that can contain space. The *partie de trois* completes the pleasure circuit, electrifies the body and stimulates the Chi, or life force. A triad transcends the restrictive heterosexual binary, creating more erotic and sensual possibilities.

Threesomes are perfect for exploring bisexuality in the safety of the company of the opposite sex. They help us play and experiment with our sexuality; it doesn't have to be an either/or situation, it can be a bit of both.

The *partie de trois* is a "gateway" sex act, opening the door to other taboo-breaking pleasures. It might be hard to admit to your partner that you'd like them to strap on a mini and do you in the rear; but once you open your sex life to outsiders, you can rewrite the rules entirely. Perhaps it's this characteristic—as sexual catalyst—that has made troilism a feature of so many sexcapades.

The 1930s' ménage à trois of Henry Miller, his wife June and their lover Anaïs Nin foreshadowed the wave of sexual liberation that would later sweep across the western world. Their relationship has iconic significance, for their commitment to a three-way love affair in a world that generally accepts only love in pairs.

In the late Seventies, hipsters would bring home a playmate or two, instead of flowers or chocolates for their beloved. The prevailing etiquette may be summed up as, go to bed with your gift(s) but sleep with the giver. In these scenarios, roles are clear cut, the spouse or significant other can stay in control, and the guests will leave after breakfast.

Although Henry Miller, Hugh Hefner and

other iconic playboys made it look easy, translating the fantasy into reality can be tricky.

Want to get your steady into a threesome? Chances are you'll be confronted by Jealousy and Guilt, the trolls who guard monogamy with a vengeance. There are hundreds of sex advice columns that can explain how to broach the subject—but the point to remember is that post-coital complications may outweigh the pleasure of the act.

While the voyeurism inherent in threesomes makes some cringe with awkward self-awareness, others cream their shorts. Arno Karlen, author of *Threesomes: Studies in Sex, Power and Intimacy*, states: "Each person becomes aware of watching and being scrutinized. In a triad, the smallest group, one is pushed beyond the mental habits of the dyad but has no crowd to hide in. In fact the very presence of a third person is usually enough to make each participant mentally stand back and imagine himself through the others' eyes."

Some dislike threesomes, as an evasion of intimacy. Alt-rock musician Liz Phair wrote that threesomes for her are never as intimate as experiences between two. Rock musician Fred Harrison recounts that his worst sexual experience "was a threesome with two girls... It was really depressing because they were more into each other. I just kind of sat there, 'Oh, hi, I'm the guy with the cock. What can I do?'"

While Karlen acknowledges that some people may use threesomes to avoid intimacy or commitment, she concludes, positively, "Whatever happens between three illuminates what happens between two and within each of us."

As a twenty-something female subject attests, "I expected a super-erotic experience; I assumed it would be fucking and watching. Instead it was super-tender. I was scared, but the other girl was even more scared, and I became her comforter... I loved the way that everyone took care of everyone else."



# Survival of the Dumbest (or why evolution is still an issue)

BY A.K. GUPTA

In *Hen's Teeth and Horse's Toes*, the late, great biologist Stephen Jay Gould reflected on the Scopes Trial and the culture war over evolution. "When I think that we are enmeshed again in the same struggle for one of the best documented, most compelling and exciting concepts in all of science, I don't know whether to laugh or cry."

Little has changed in the 25 years since Gould penned that passage. If anything, Darwinism has become ground zero in the culture war.

Gould, who died in 2002, may well have laughed upon hearing that a 24-year-old political appointee with a phony resumé told NASA scientists that because the Big Bang was not a proven fact, it wasn't their place to make declarations about the universe "that discount intelligent design by a creator." But then again, he might have cried upon realizing that the ignorant in power are both denying the reality of global warming and blocking attempts to address it.

There is no honest dispute over evolution. It is an indisputable fact, as much as the earth being four billion years old, fusion powering the sun and plate tectonics shaping land masses. The debate is over the mechanism for evolution, whether its gradual changes over time proposed by Darwin's theory of natural selection, Gould's theory of rapid changes followed by stasis — known as "punctuated equilibrium."

Still, Creationists, now rebranded "Intelligent Designers," deny evolution and by implication all science. To hold that the earth is 6,000 years old is to reject not just evolution, but geology, paleontology, physics, chemistry and even mathematics itself.

The latest strategy from the Creationist camp is "teach the controversy." It has been struck down by the courts as a Trojan horse for religion but still has considerable backing: 64 percent of Americans want Creationism taught in the schools alongside Darwinism, according to a Pew poll.

## God is not in the details

What many Christians can't abide is the notion that there is no providence to humanity, that it owes perhaps as much to chance as adaptation. Darwinism does not rule out God, but it does rule out a supreme being whose hand is in history, one who tells former alcoholics to bomb and invade small countries as part of His grand plan.

Darwinism, however, undermines many religious concepts. Most religions presume an orderly, designed universe and man as the center of creation — ideas that shrivel under the cruel glare of nature.

Philosopher David Hull famously observed in the journal *Nature* in 1991, "The God of the Galapagos is careless, wasteful, indifferent, almost diabolical. He is certainly not the sort of God to whom anyone would be inclined to pray."

Sadly, some defenders of Darwinism try to paper over the conflict. Near the end of the Darwin exhibit, now showing at the American Museum of Natural History through May 29, a short video entitled "Scientists on Faith" plays on loop. Prominent biologists discuss how

Darwinism presents no conflict to their religious beliefs. The talk of faith and science is highly misleading. According to a survey published in *Nature* in 1998, only 7 percent of scientists expressed a personal belief in God, with biologists the most skeptical at a minus-cule 5.5 percent.

The exhibit could use a dose of "Darwin's bulldog," Thomas Henry Huxley, who defended Darwin's ideas with gusto against 19th-century zealots, or today's bulldog, Richard Dawkins, who declares that "anyone who chooses not to believe in evolution is ignorant, stupid or insane." There is a do-not-offend quality to the exhibit, which glosses over battles related to Darwinism, eugenics and creationism. The fight is so fierce that the museum was unable to secure a single corporate sponsor, not even a biotech company.

Using everything from live iguanas to artifacts from the young naturalist's voyage aboard the *H.M.S. Beagle*, the curators present a detailed look at Darwin's life and the development of his ideas. It's an educational exhibit, leaving the visitor with a detailed understanding of Darwinism and the scientific process, but not of the social context.

## Abuses of science

The only criticism made of "Intelligent-Design Creationism" is that it lies "outside the realm of scientific inquiry." The exhibit fails to use Darwin's own work to show how Creationists distort and misuse science to their own ends.

For example, a favorite argument of Intelligent Design (coined by 18th-century theologian William Paley) is that eyes, with a

retina, lens, cones, rods, etc., are far too complex to have evolved. In *The Origin of Species*, Darwin tackled the question and discusses the range of sight organs, from simple sensors in some animals "that serve only to distinguish light from darkness" to insects' eyes with numerous facets on their cornea that "form true lenses" to the structure "as perfect as an eagle's eye." He argued that over millions of years eyes evolved as "natural selection will pick out with unerring skill each improvement."

Another Creationist tactic is to dismiss Darwinism as "only a theory" — which was what school officials in Georgia tried to do by labeling biology textbooks with such warnings. The Darwin exhibit tackles this canard, explaining how in science theory is the highest form of knowledge, as opposed to everyday in which it signifies a guess.

Gravity, after all, is "only a theory." So one day soon, hopefully, the Christian right will, bible in hand, march off a cliff en masse to prove that their faith is stronger than gravity.

If the Darwin exhibit is all education, then the Bodies Exhibit at the South Street Seaport is all infotainment. It's a veritable freak show, with 22 full-body, skinless corpses preserved through a plasticization process. Many of the corpses are set in athletic poses, with muscles, tendons and ligaments flayed to reveal anatomy. Hundreds of other preserved body parts are presented in cases, often contrasting healthy and diseased specimens.

There is no intellectual trajectory to the exhibit. The theme, if there is one, is about lifestyle choices and how that affects our bodies, whether it's a smoker's blackened lungs or an overeater's fatty physique.

## Trivial Display

The curators become lazy at points, throwing out bits of the digestive system — jejunum, ileum — without explaining their role. Useless trivia is painted on the walls. The average male passes 12,000 gallons of urine in a lifetime, the kidneys filter the equivalent of a large soda bottle of blood every two minutes.

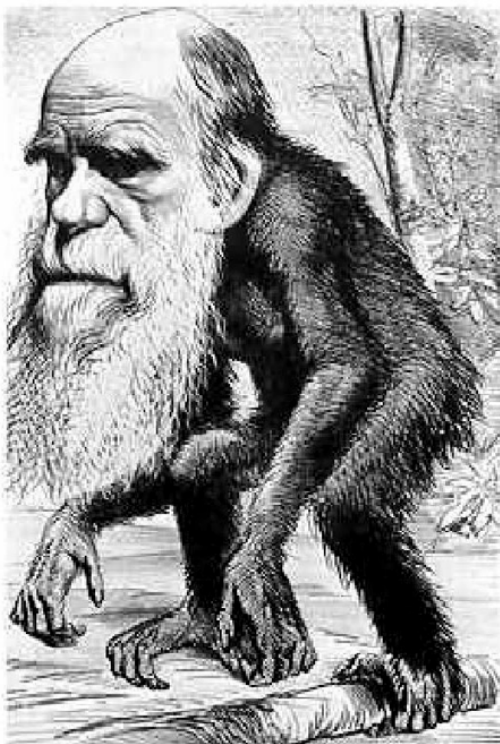
The one outstanding section shows networks of blood vessels and capillaries floating in fluid. Viewers enter a darkened room filled with lit glass cases showing fine networks of glowing blood vessels including the vasculature of an entire torso.

The crowd is young and hip and giggly and juvenile, with plenty of pointing at preserved penises. Med students wander about, trying to up one another with their knowledge of anatomy.

The Bodies exhibit does a brisk business. Perhaps because so many people, incorrectly, think of ourselves as the pinnacle of evolution, we're eager to look at the fine machine nature has wrought. Of course, any anatomy student could explain our many physical shortcomings, from bad backs and knees to hips too narrow for childbearing and eyes that create upside-down images so the brain has to flip them.

Humanity owes much to the asteroid that wiped out the dinosaurs some 65 million years ago. Physicist John Gribbin muses that if not for that, a smallish bipedal dinosaur called *Sauornithoides* with four-fingered hands and a large brain-to-body mass might have evolved to rule the earth. And its descendants might then have been the ones arguing over whether the mighty dinosaurs evolved or were intelligently designed.

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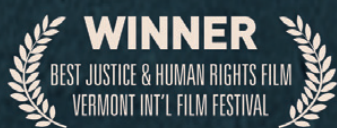
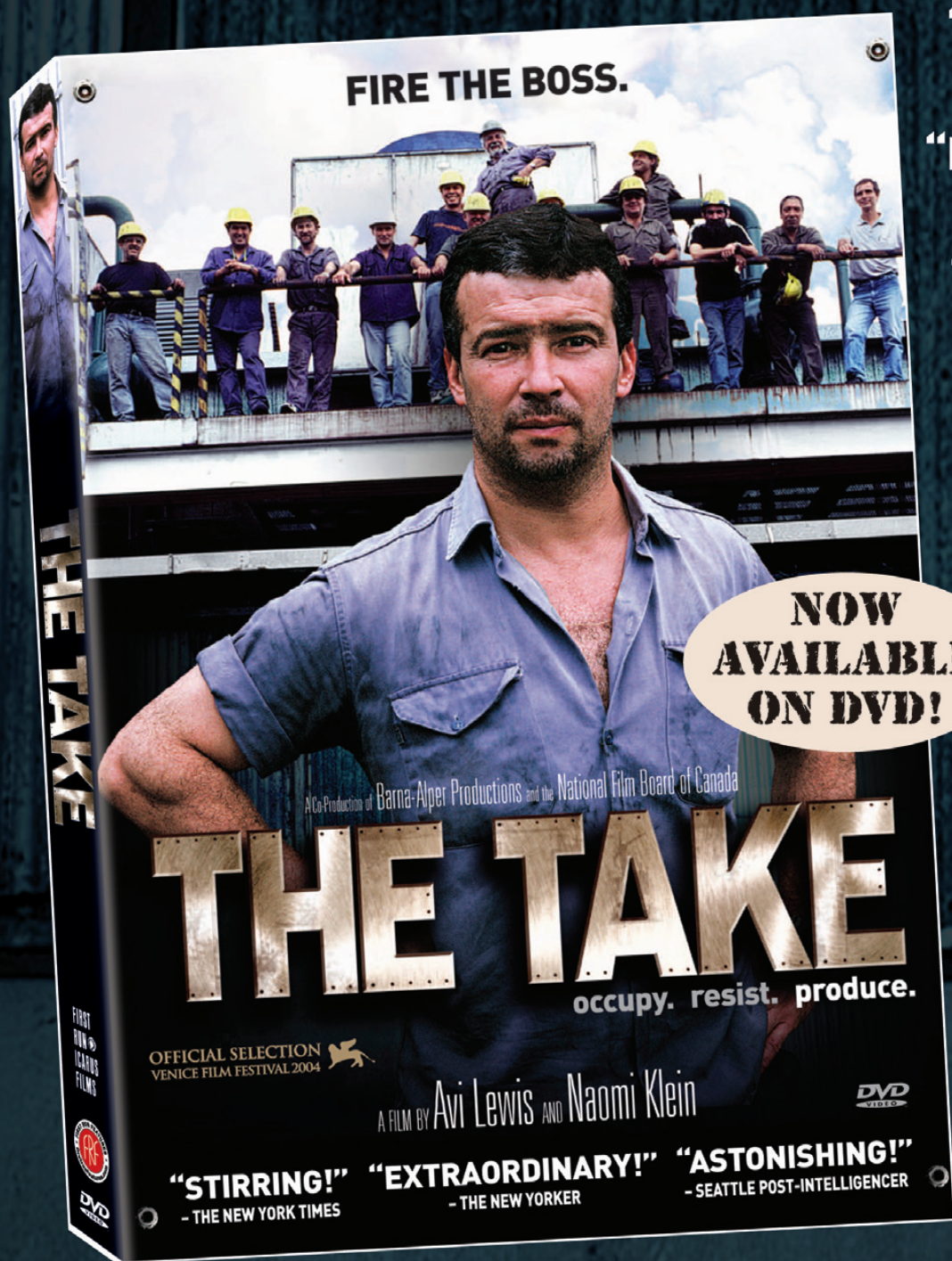
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